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Editorial communications should be addressed to A. M. SIMONS, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago; business communications to CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

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Vol. I

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The United States and World Politics



It is a commonplace for socialist writers to say that capitalism has enlarged the social unit with the expansion of the market from the village and neighborhood to the full circumference of the globe, and wiping out all lines of division has made of the entire earth one vast community. Questions of policy, lines of divergent interests, ethical, religious and governmental problems have all followed the growth of industry, and the whole social drama is enlarged to this same gigantic scale. "All the world's a stage," in which nations, armies, peoples and races are not simply players but largely puppets in the control of the tremendous industrial forces that govern the capitalist world.

While, however, these things have long been spoken of as if actually in existence, yet it has really been only within the last few years that they have been great and present facts. European writers have discussed "world politics" for a generation, but as so often happens, they thought of their own circle of existence as all of life, and never realized that not only was a great portion of the capitalist earth outside their line of vision, but that the major portion of the earth's surface was, as yet, well-nigh untouched by capitalism. While the United States had reached a greater degree of capitalist development than any European nation, it was still very largely isolated from them. Only when by virtue of the great fertility of its virgin soil combined with an extensive system of mechanical agriculture it was enabled to invade the market with cheap cereals and intensify the already almost unbearable sufferings of the European peasant, or when the Civil War created a cotton famine in English factories did the industrial or social life of America intrude itself upon the view of European eco-

conomic or political writers. The United States was considered only as a source of raw materials for the workshops of the "old world," or as an escape valve for the proletariat of Europe when oppression passed the endurance point in his native land.

The "world" of these writers was also limited by the fact that the major portion of the earth, not yet brought under the sway of capitalism, was practically outside their circle of industrial and social life. The whole theatre of the "world politics" of ten years ago was confined to what is now known as western Europe, with its farthest reach in a discussion of an "Eastern Question" having its seat but a three days' railroad journey from the other extreme limit of their world. This Eastern Question was located at the point where the capitalism of western Europe was coming in contact with barbaric Russia and seeking to block her efforts to obtain an outlet to the sea. As for Russia herself, she was only thought of as a half-savage monster that swallowed up Napoleonic armies or belched forth hordes of ferocious Cossacks, but never really played a part in the basic social and industrial drama. Africa was a "dark continent," the home of the slave trade and buried civilizations, of interest only to the just arising science of archaeology and the Geographical Society, but never thought of as an essential factor in the social life of the world. Australia, only on a smaller scale, was, like America, but an European "colony," with no initiative or individuality in the family of nations. As for Asia, embracing well-nigh one-third the entire land surface of the globe and one-half the population, this did not belong to the world of these writers at all.

Turning now to the United States, the same insular point of view is seen. A decade ago, the majority of American writers affected a sort of supercilious contempt for all other nations and prided themselves on their isolation. There was a sort of universal "Monroe Doctrine" prevailing in all lines of thought. The economic base of this is to be found in the self-sufficiency of American industrial life. This, in turn, cannot be understood without a thorough comprehension of the one great fact of American history,—the fact of its continuous westward growth. The United States has always had, upon its very industrial borders, and within its political boundaries, a larger "foreign market" than almost any other nation on earth has been able to secure. The manufacturers of the eastern seaboard of the United States, at a time when they were looked upon as practically isolated from the "world market," were really producing for almost as large and varied a class of customers as were to be found within the "world market" of England. It must be remembered in this connection that the area of the United States is practically the same as that of

the entire continent of Europe and that its climate and soil offers even a greater variety of conditions and wants to be fulfilled.

Thus it is seen that all previous conceptions of world politics have been ridiculously narrow,—narrow because they did not even include all, or even the greater part of capitalism,—narrower still because the influence of capitalism itself was confined to but an extremely small portion of the inhabited globe. Hence it was but natural that these last few years should see a sudden shifting of the scenes in this great drama, and we are presented with the view of a titanic conflict between forces hitherto outside the scope of vision of European diplomatists and political writers, and on a field not even included in their mental map of the world.

The industrial causes which led to this revolution in the political and social outlook have been mainly the resultant of what may justly be called the two great facts in capitalist development in the last half of the nineteenth century—the entrance of America into the world market and the capitalistic awakening of Russia.

RUSSIA.

The latter of these is without doubt one of the most dramatic events in the history of the world. First there is fierce brute struggle to escape from the political, climatic and geographical walls that rise on every side, and to simply secure the free breath of the outer air. To the north, Arctic rigor of climate joined hands with political enemies to keep her from the open sea. But the great ice-breaking steamers promise to extend the short summer of five months to a continuous season so far as navigation is concerned. Few things in the prosaic history of commerce reach as thrilling a height as the story of the entrance of the first of these ice-breakers into the hitherto ice-bound harbors of the north. Here is the description as published in a contemporary account: "With a roar like the bursting of an ice-gorge lifted by a spring flood the "Ermack" recently forced her way into the harbor of Kronstadt, Russia, ending an unparalleled journey of 200 miles through solid ice, all of it being at least five feet thick and that for fifty miles about ten feet in thickness. To the right and left she hurled the huge blocks as a locomotive plow throws the snow. Thousands of people on skate's, on dog sleds and in large and small sleighs and sledges raced with her for the last nine miles of her course, which she passed over in about an hour. As she came grandly into port, bells were ringing from the steeples of the city and of the neighboring St. Petersburg, military salutes were echoing for miles along the frozen shores, and shouts and cheers of welcome were pouring from

the throats of an excited crowd of many thousands. Her arrival on the 17th of March begins a new era in Russian commercial and naval history.”*

Observing before her neighbors of western Europe that the “world” had grown far beyond the shores of the Mediterranean, she has abandoned, for the moment at least, her effort to secure Constantinople, and is instead pushing down the further side of the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf, which will give her what no other European nation can ever hope to secure,—a route to the ports of southern Asia not controlled by British guns at Gibraltar and Port Said. She is slipping up through Turkestan to reach the Chinese Empire, the center of present world-politics, by a “back way” wholly under her own control. This she is doing by means of a double system of railways, one projected and surveyed from Moscow direct to the western borders of Turkestan, and the other already constructed to the Caucasus district through Bokhara and Samarkand to Andijan almost within the confines of Chinese territory. Then all the world knows of that mightiest triumph of railroad construction in this century of railroad building, the binding together of the greatest of continents with the steel bands of the Trans-Siberian railroad. From St. Petersburg this mighty highway stretches on through frozen Tundras and over mountains to Vladivostock and Port Arthur, more than 6,000 miles, or twice the length of the American trans-continental roads that were once reckoned among the wonders of the world. And over this great roadbed American locomotives are pulling American cars over American steel rails to the seat of the most titanic commercial conflict of the ages.

All these features give to Russia what has always been the distinguishing feature of America—a frontier—a “foreign market” close at hand, beneath her own flag and developing only as needed. As the history of America has been the story of the march of a mighty army to the West, so that of Russia is the tale of the continuous advance of a people toward the East, until now the two bodies are meeting on the eastern coast of Asia and the western shore of the Pacific.

Along with this continuous expansion of Russia there has taken place an internal revolution of no less importance. Three years before the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, Alexander II. of Russia, in freeing the serfs from their attachment to the soil and thus converting them into wage-slaves, took the decisive step from feudalism into capitalism. Domestic industry began to give place to the factory system, although the former still prevails to a greater extent than in any of the western nations,—it being lately estimated that

*Success, May 20, 1890.

about 6,000,000 persons were still so employed. But while there are many fold more persons so engaged than in the Russian factories, their product is ridiculously low in proportion,—being estimated at about \$50,000,000 per year, while the factory output has arisen from \$452,500,000 in 1872 to over \$1,000,000,000 in 1898. Incidentally this gives a graphic illustration of the marvelously increased productive power of laborers under the modern machine system. It is needless to say that the laborers of Russia, any more than those of the United States, have not shared to any great degree in their increased product. Some idea of where this increase has actually gone is given in the following extract from the report of the United States Treasury Department on "The Russian Empire," p. 2524: "In no western country, at least at present, are such large returns obtained, as a rule, upon investments of industrial and commercial capital as in Russia. Profits of 20 per cent are hardly considered worth troubling about. As an example we may quote here the official returns of the profits made in the textile industry—the most important in Russia. The Yaroslav cotton factory has yielded to its owners an average yearly profit during 1891-1893 equal to 36.4 per cent on its capital stock and 65.5 per cent in 1895. The Ismail factory gave 45 per cent during the same year, the Russian Cotton Spinning Company 30 per cent, the Neva 60.5 per cent, Tver 40 per cent, the Baranoff Company 39 per cent, Krenholm 31 per cent, Zindel Company 46 per cent; Morozoff & Sons, the largest in Russia in their line, declared a 52 per cent yearly dividend during each of the three years previous to 1895, and 65 per cent during the latter year. Finally, the Sobin factory gave the, one might say, incredible figure, were it not for the official sources, of 144 per cent profit in 1895."

Such tremendous accumulations of "surplus value" need an outlet. But a barren land is of no value as a "foreign market" and so Russia is again imitating America in her colonization of Siberia. Just as the capitalist government of the United States held out all manner of inducements to persuade settlers to locate in the western states, so the Russian government is using its autocratic power to transport moujiks to the wilds of Siberia. In the case of the United States an empire was given to individual capitalists to secure the building of railways, while the ruling class of Russia use the government directly to construct their transportation routes. The cheap "emigrant rates" of America are being duplicated on the Trans-Siberian railroad, and many features of the American homestead law are proving as valuable to Russian as they once did to American capitalists in securing the removal of laborers to localities where their exploitation is more profitable. Since 1894, \$2,605,500 have been spent in subventions to rural indus-

tries in Siberia. Once there these laborers prove "efficient and willing workers" at \$15 a month, who are "hardy enough to work out the year round in this climate, to sleep, if necessary, on the hard ground without tents, and to live on dried black bread and soup meat."

These are some of the characteristics of the land across which Russia is now moving to play her part in the new world-politics of the far East. In addition to these advantages of cheap labor Siberia is a land of almost boundless resources. It produces one-sixth the gold of the world, and still has countless veins richer than many of the great California mines, which are now left untouched because of a present lack of proper machinery,—which defect, however, will soon be remedied. Its deposits of iron and coal are absolutely inexhaustible within any measurable period, while it contains a forest area of some of the finest timber known to commerce two-thirds as large as the entire land surface of the United States.

THE UNITED STATES.

Turning again to America, space forbids any extended consideration of the great western movement with its leveling frontier, grinding away all social differences as the front of a mighty glacier wears down physical inequalities: the resulting panorama of historic development from savagery to civilization which a geographical section of the United States presents, or the tremendous lesson of social solidarity which the immediate presence of a hostile environment has taught to those who have made up the advance guard of the great industrial march toward the setting sun. These are the things that lie at the very foundation of American social problems, and their proper understanding is fundamental to any intelligent appreciation of American society, yet here is not the time nor place for their discussion and their consideration must be deferred to some future time. It only remains to point out that this century-long march has reached its limit and has even leaped from California to the Philippines and China, after an instant's pause at Hawaii, and that therefore the American frontier, with all that it signifies, is now a thing of the past.

It was this fact that forced the United States into the field of world politics. Her political boundaries having been reached in her economic development, while that development went on with ever-increasing energy, there was nothing left to do but to invade other political boundaries.

But before considering this point it is necessary to glance further at the economic situation within the United States. Many writers in treating of the recent trade and territorial expansion of this country speak as if it were some strange and unexpected phenomenon and especially as if it betokened

some sudden and wonderful increase in production. But while it is a fact that there has been a rapid increase in the amount of wealth created by American laborers within the last few years, it is nevertheless true that long before the present widespread invasion of the world market that has played such havoc with previously existing trade arrangements American manufacturers were already producing for a far larger market than those of any other country. Already in 1885 they were surpassed only by the manufacturers of Great Britain in the quantity of pig iron produced; the respective amounts being, for the United States 4,040,000 tons and for Great Britain 7,420,000 tons, while in 1895, when the United States was still supposed to be well-nigh shut out from the world market, the American iron workers produced 9,450,000 tons to 8,020,000 tons for Great Britain. In 1899 the figures were 13,620,703 tons and 9,251,151 tons respectively, while the output of the United States for 1900 is estimated at 13,750,000 tons, showing that the increase during this last year that has created such consternation in the markets of the world has been no more than in many of the years when production was supposed to be only for a local demand. The figures for manufactured iron and steel are even more remarkable. In 1885 the United States produced 1,710,000 tons to satisfy domestic demands, while England, who was supposed to be supplying the world, produced but 1,920,000 tons, and in 1895 the isolated American manufacturers passed far beyond the output of the "workshops of the world," producing 6,110,000 tons to England's 3,880,000, and the American output for 1898 (the latest for which I was able to secure figures) was 8,932,857 tons.

Turning to commerce, it is a well-known fact that the tonnage passing through the Sault Ste Marie canal at the eastern end of Lake Superior has for many years been far greater than that passing through the Suez, and that many of the ports on the great lakes can compare favorably as to tonnage with the great ocean ports. Besides this it is to be remembered that the railway traffic of America is each year very much greater than that of any other nation on the face of the earth.

When it comes to a consideration of natural resources, it suffices to point out that the United States is not simply the granary of the world, by virtue of the almost boundless stretch of her fertile western prairies, but that the coal measures already explored extend over a territory of 195,000 square miles, an area greater than that of the whole British Isles, and that no one has yet pretended to fathom the extent of her iron ores.

Turning to the other factors in the production of wealth, labor power, again no other country can compare with her as to cheapness, although this fact has been less widely recognized, owing to the nominally high wages having concealed the

fact of high exploitation. Yankee ingenuity is proverbial. Accustomed through several generations of labor on the frontier to continually measure his strength against nature direct, and there able to himself reap the full advantage of any improvement in production or increase of effort, the American laborer developed an inventiveness and industry which, now that he has become a wage-slave, makes him the most valuable worker to the capitalist the world has yet known. Imbued with an intense and ridiculous individualism, and ever pursuing the *ignis fatuus* of industrial promotion (which again was more nearly possible during the long years of individual exploitation of natural resources) he can be driven to a degree of exertion undreamed of in other lands. Thus it has come about that while constantly boasting of his independence he is the most exploited slave known to history. He has as the crowning glory of a century of development upon a virgin continent, the fact of having produced more millionaires among his masters than any producer the world has ever known.

Add to these facts of inexhaustible natural resources, high mechanical perfection and the cheapest labor on earth, the further fact that industrial organization has here reached its most perfect form, and some conception can be gained of the terrific competing power which can be exercised by this young giant of the West when he goes forth from his long period of growth and development into the great world of organized legalized piracy known as international trade.

This last feature—concentrated, unified and nationally non-competitive industry—is peculiar to America, and like the other features noted, owes its origin to the history and geographical formation of the country. With over 200,000 miles of railway, an extensive system of inland waterways and nearly one-half the telegraphic mileage of the globe, every portion of its vast and diversified domain constituted but a single market, and a market so enormous that none but industrial giants can maintain an existence within the scope of its influence,—it was but a short process to crush the small bourgeoisie to powder and blow their dust from the mighty wheels of commerce, leaving the field free to be occupied by the great trusts and combines.

In the discussion of Russia attention was called to the manner in which a despotic government was used to further the interests of a ruling class. In the United States we have an example of a republican form of government being used for the same ends. Through control of the means of communication of intelligence, a censorship of the press is maintained, as much more effective as it is more subtle than that of Russia. And just because this censorship is positive instead of negative in its action and performs its work under the guise of a free press it is the more difficult to combat. But at all times

and under all conditions modern governments have been but committees to perform the work of the capitalists as a class. While American capitalists were developing the "home market" their government protected them with an almost prohibitive tariff. When the time came to enter the world market, the army and navy were at once utilized to conquer distant territory, and the consular system was transformed into a system of commercial agencies, that are at once the wonder, admiration and envy of the capitalists of other lands who find despotism a much less pliable instrument for their purposes than a sham democracy.

EFFECT ON WESTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS.

Before making an examination of the stage on which the last act in this great drama is to be played, let us glance for a moment at the effect of these new developments on the "world" of western Europe. If these nations have received scant consideration so far it is in no spirit of revenge for their long disregard of things American, but because they are destined to play but minor parts in the scene upon which the curtain is just rising. England's long and bitter struggle with a handful of farmers in South Africa is rather a sign than a cause of her having entered upon the period of national decadence. It does her no good, as W. T. Stead has pointed out, to have colored half the maps in the atlas with red pigment, for the principle of the "open door" deprives her of all commercial advantage in her own colonies, while even if she should repudiate this principle, for which she is now contending so vigorously, it would avail but little, as customs have ever been found ineffectual barriers to the all-permeating influence of trade. This is the age and the environment of commercialism, and the nation that cannot adapt herself to that environment is not "fitted to survive." This England, Germany or France cannot do, to say nothing of the minor states of western Europe. They have not the combination of natural resources, mechanical skill and cheap and servile labor, with highly organized and concentrated industry, which the new conditions of survival demand. Hence it is that European trade journals, as well as sensational news sheets, are bemoaning the decline in industrial prosperity. Germany is on the verge of a commercial crisis, and a late governmental report contains a communication from a delegate, who had just returned from a tour of the United States, declaring that the American "will in a very little while conquer the world markets," and that "against this industrial invasion our customs impost will avail as little as our grain imposts have done." It is interesting to read further on in the same report that "the fear of the American industrial invasion should lead us, and all European countries, to a close union with Russia." But he

seems to overlook the fact that in national dealings, still less than in those of individuals, do altruistic motives prevail, and he does not mention what inducements would be held out to Russia to convince her of the desirability of the proposed alliance.

Illustrations of the sale of American products in the very centers of European production, as well as in the more distant markets that have always been considered the exclusive property of English or German factories, are now so common as scarce to need mention. American steel rails and cars for the tramways of England and coal for German factories will at once come to mind as instances of this sort, while wherever the conditions of distance are at all comparable American manufacturers are crushing their European competitors as easily as they once crushed the little firms of their native land.

THE SEAT OF CONFLICT.

As was previously stated, the focus of the world market has shifted from Europe to the far Orient, and there can be no full understanding of the mighty movement called world politics without some knowledge of the stage on which it is set. And what a mighty stage it is, with a setting well worthy of the great actors that are to appear. The old "world politics" centered around the Mediterranean, a mere inland sea; those of to-day encircle the mightiest of oceans. It is characteristic of the change that has taken place that the new forces are capable of acting across its mighty reaches with even greater ease and rapidity than the forces of a few generations ago operated on this almost infinitely smaller field. Says Dr. Strong in his recent work on Expansion: "Since time became the measure of distance the Pacific has shrunk until now it is only one-half as large as the Mediterranean was in the days of classic Greece. For a twenty-one knot vessel can steam 10,000 miles from Cape Horn to Yokohama in twenty days, which is one-half the time it took the old Greek merchant or pirate vessel to sail 2,000 miles from the Phenician coast to the pillars of Hercules."

It must also be remembered that the Grecian vessel carried only between fifty and one hundred tons of cargo, and even to-day the Mediterranean freighters have, on the average, only increased this to five hundred or a thousand tons, while James Hill is building ships of 20,000 tons capacity to operate in connection with the Great Northern railway in the Oriental trade.

The focus of all these movements to-day is China, who by virtue of that fact becomes of paramount interest in any study of world relations. Here not only do the various capitalist societies meet in their last and most desperate struggle, but capitalism is itself confronted by its mightiest problem in the

form of the most ancient and fixed society this earth has ever known, with the largest and most homogeneous population ever gathered in one social unit. Nor is the land itself less remarkable than the people. Concerning its natural resources a recent writer says: "The mining district of Shansee extending in a southerly direction is 230 miles in length by 30 miles in width. According to the German geologist, von Richthofen, it is the richest mining region in the world, being able to furnish coal and iron for the world's manufactures, at the present rate of consumption, for 2,000 years."* With a total area one-third larger than the United States, there are, notwithstanding it contains one-fourth the inhabitants of the globe, whole provinces as sparsely settled as many of the western states of America, the lack of land transportation facilities having concentrated the vast population in a few highly congested centers on the lines of water communication. In its length of navigable waterways it is equaled only by the United States and Russia,—having over 10,000 miles of natural water routes, and hundreds more of artificial ones. Although she has to-day but a little over three hundred miles of railways, concessions have been granted and surveys made for ten times as much more, thus showing that her prime minister, Wen Hsiang, was right when he said, "China will build railroads when she is ready, and when she once begins, the work will be done with a rapidity that will astonish the world."† In this regard it is not so much what has been as what can and will be done. In a study of world politics future possibilities are often of more importance than existing realities, because the history of the competitive system has shown that once resources are discovered a way will be found to exploit them.

Not only are Chinese resources well-nigh boundless but the cheapness of her labor is proverbial. Wages are estimated by different authorities to vary from three to fifteen cents a day, and all agree that this labor is much more efficient than that of the Japanese, who have accomplished marvelous and rapid results. Accustomed through long centuries to incessant unthinking labor, he is the ideal mechanical worker, who will quickly become but a cog in the great industrial mechanism of a modern productive establishment and toil to the limit of existence.

Chinese isolation, like that of Russia and America, is now a thing of the past. Thirty-one treaty ports, some of them hundreds of miles from the sea, were already open to commerce before the present outbreak, and there is no doubt but what at the close of this war all China will be freely opened to the influence of capitalism. The Trans-Siberian route is

* Reinsch, *World Politics*, p. 138.

† Holcombe, *The Real Chinese Question*.

being rushed to completion at a record-breaking rate, and as we have seen, Russia is also constructing railroad communications to the interior of China from the west. England is making a last desperate effort to be "in at the death" in the struggle for the spoils of the long chase for new fields for capitalist exploitation that has extended to the very ends of the earth. She is planning a railroad that will skirt the southern slopes of the Himalayas and utilize the lines in northern India as links in a chain of communication to connect China with English possessions in Egypt, and ultimately through the Cape to Cairo railroad with the territory she hopes to gain by her present piratical conflict in South Africa. But this route will be manifestly clumsy and expensive and inefficient in competing power in comparison with the other routes.

The great highway to China, however, and the one over which the burden of traffic will rest the heaviest in the new world life is the mighty Pacific, some of whose characteristics have already been noticed. This differs from all the other great bodies of water which have been famous as the bearers of commerce in the innumerable islands with which it is thickly studded. These vary in size from inhospitable rocks just rising above the crest of the wave, to great stretches of land sufficient for an empire. They afford countless stopping places, sheltered harbors, coaling stations, landing spots for submarine cables, and in general will serve to form a multitude of focii, from which the various arms of commercial communication will radiate.

The group of islands that now make up the newly formed Australian federation are without doubt destined to play a considerable part in future world politics. Nevertheless, although they are probably of more significance than many a so-called "world-power" of Europe, their natural characteristics and resources are such that at this time it scarcely appears likely that they will be able to act more than a minor part in comparison with other lands concerned.

A FEW CONCLUSIONS.

What now will be the resultant of these great contending forces? What will be the future evolution of America, Russia and China, and future relation of the forces these names represent to social development? Many have worded this question differently, and would make it read "What will the capitalist nations do with China?" and generally answer it by saying that they will ultimately divide it up and wipe it from the map. They do not seem to see that this answer, even if true, is essentially superficial. Changes in the atlas and forms of government are of fundamental importance only to the geographer or diplomat; to the social student they are of very secondary im-

portance. For the purpose of this discussion it makes little difference what is done to the political organization of China, or as to whether the United States, Russia or an alliance of western European powers should conquer in the great military conflict which seems imminent. However boundary lines may shift and dynasties change, the great social forces we have been considering will be but little affected. Whatever may happen to the Chinese *nation*, the Chinese *people* will remain; the mineral and agricultural resources still continue to exist, and the great routes of travel and commerce will be unchanged. This is especially true under capitalism, which has spread its dread uniformity of exploitation and wage-slavery over so great a part of the globe. For capitalism, while extremely patriotic when in need of soldiers or of votes, knows no nation or country when profits are at stake.

Knowing the all-penetrating character of capitalism, it is absolutely certain that China will be thrown open for the greatest possible exploitation. Her cheap labor will soon be applied to her marvelous resources for the benefit of a small class of owners. This will, for years to come, make an outlet for the surplus capital that American laborers are piling up in the hands of their capitalist masters. This will incidentally remove one cause which some less clear-sighted socialist writers have been looking forward to as a means of precipitating an economic and social crisis. There will be no breaking down of American industrial machinery because of a plethora of capital, at least not within any measurable time. There are opportunities in yet undeveloped portions of the earth to absorb the surplus capital of America, as enormous as it appears, for a generation to come. This fact, taken in connection with the domination of the world-market, would seem to make it probable that subsistence could be given to the larger portion of the American proletariat, by their capitalist masters, in return for enormous profits, for some years to come. To be sure when we consider this question upon its international basis, which is the only proper basis, it is seen that as ever capitalism is the only social system yet existing that is not able to feed, clothe and house its own slaves. But the bulk of the suffering seems liable to take place in other lands rather than here. Not that there will not be tens of thousands of hungry, naked, homeless members of the producing class in every great American center of population, for competitive "prosperity" is a greater hell than the adversity of any intelligent social organization.

In the struggle for the markets of the world, there can be no question as to who will win in the immediate present. No other nation can compete with the concentrated organized industry and cheap, servile but intelligent and skillful American

labor. Whether American capitalists will finally shift the seat of their production to the Orient, as the only place on earth with cheaper labor than at home, and whether having done so they will crush out the industries of the United States, is a question whose answer involves too many unknown factors to be entered upon here.

A NEW WORLD POWER.

So far these questions have been discussed, at one fundamental point at least, upon essentially the same base as they are discussed by the orthodox writers of capitalism. It has been taken for granted that the present social organization, with competition, class rule and private property in the essentials of life, is to continue indefinitely. Nothing has been said to indicate that the great producing masses of the world would not continue forever to be the mere fighting, toiling slaves of a ruling capitalist class. It has been taken for granted that governments, armies and nations would always remain mere instruments in the hands of this ruling, exploiting class with which to add to their profits.

But the last few years have witnessed the rise of a new "world-power" far greater in magnitude and strength than any hitherto existing. International socialism is the legitimate child and natural heir of international capitalism and there are many reasons for believing that it is soon to enter upon its inheritance. There are countless signs in every land that the laborers of the world are beginning to do their own thinking. This stupendous fact, which has been utterly ignored in all current discussion of international relations and world politics, is destined to overthrow many an elaborately worked out scheme of social and political prophets. The "balance of power" in world politics is again shifting and now lies once more outside the realm of what are ordinarily considered the contending forces. If soldiers and laborers dare to think, what becomes of kings and capitalists? Already a government commission reports that the Belgian army can no longer be depended upon save to repel foreign invaders, which means that the "men behind the guns" have grown too intelligent to shoot their brother laborers for the benefit of exploiting capitalists. It is notorious that Kaiser Wilhelm's magnificent military machine is also becoming too intelligent to any longer be a mere blind force in the hand of a master.

The Russian Cossack and the American volunteer stand almost alone in the modern world as examples of blind slaves of militarism. The Cossack has at least this excuse,—that he is obeying the brute force of a government in whose management he has no voice, and whose strength he is powerless to

resist, and besides he has been shut out from all opportunity of education.

But America is to-day filled with signs of the growth of this new all-conquering, international world-power. Space does not permit to give the reasons for believing that here will soon be its greatest stronghold. Suffice to say, that just as American society swept on to the highest point of capitalism in less time than many a nation has required to gain the first stage, so there is every reason to believe that the coming of socialism will be equally swift. With the domination of this new world-power a new social era will be entered upon where world politics will no longer be a struggle for mastery and extermination, but for mutual assistance and co-operation between the nations of the earth.

A. M. Simons.



The Negro Problem



O many the negro problem was forever solved when the shackles were struck from the four millions of the colored race. This act was thought to fulfill the theory embodied in the Declaration of Independence,—that all men were created free and equal. The emancipation of the negro from chattel slavery—an act necessary to modern capitalist industry—was, from the standpoint of economic progress, a great step in advance, but instead of solving the negro problem it merely changed its aspect. The negro was emancipated from chattel slavery, only to be plunged into wage slavery. This change merely altered the relation in which the negro stood to his master.

The ultimate cause that led to the Northern revolt against the chattel system was its unprofitableness. As soon as industry passed from the individual and manufacturing period into modern mechanical industry, it became unprofitable to own workers as chattels. The change at the North caused New England morality to revolt against the chattel system and inaugurate in its place wage slavery. The new order was exceedingly profitable to the capitalist class and enabled the Northern masters, when the crisis came, to conquer the South and force it to accept capitalism and the wage system. The rapid invasion of the South by capitalism after the civil war,—the industrial revolution which supplanted the crude tools by mighty machines,—completely overturned previous relations and gave rise to a new negro problem, which was none other than the modern problem of labor.

At first the Southern masters looked upon the loss of their slaves as a severe blow, but they soon began to see, what the North had long since known, that the ownership of land and capital meant the virtual ownership of those who must have access to those instruments or starve. The negro had been freed, but as this freedom did not include freedom of access to the means of livelihood he was still as dependent as ever. Being unable to employ himself he was compelled to seek employment, or the use of land upon which to live, at the hands of the very class from whom he had been liberated. In either case he was only able to retain barely enough of the product to keep body and soul together. The competition among the newly-emancipated for an opportunity to secure a livelihood was so great that their labor could be bought for a mere existence wage. The negro labor had become a commodity, and

like all commodities its price was determined by its cost of production. The cost of producing labor-power is the cost of the laborer's keep. The master class were able to secure the necessary labor-power to carry on their industries for merely a subsistence wage—for no more than it cost them when they owned the negroes as chattels.

The wage slave spends his own subsistence wage, which, under the chattel system, the owner was obliged to spend for him. The chattel method was fully as desirable for the slave, for the owner, having a stake in the life and health of his slave, desired to keep him in good condition. The wage slave-owner, however, does not particularly care whether his wage slave lives or dies, for he has no money invested in him and there are thousands of others to take his place. Surely wage slavery is an improvement upon the old method of property in human beings. It saves the useless expense of owning workers as chattels, which necessitates caring for them and involves loss in case of death. The results of slavery are secured by simply owning the means of production. The new system, with its revolution of industry, gives to the masters, without expense, an industrial reserve army who can only secure employment through their grace. This secures to the master class cheap labor, for laborers, both white and black, having nothing but their labor-power to sell and thus being unable to employ themselves, must compete with each other for an opportunity to earn a livelihood.

In the days of chattel slavery capitalist production on a large scale was impossible, because it was unprofitable for the master to keep more slaves than he could profitably use all the time. He could not afford a reserve army, for he must feed and care for his workers whether he could use them or not. This difficulty is overcome by the wage system. The conditions and even the name of slavery have changed, but the fact remains untouched. Indeed, slavery is not yet abolished. So long as the laborer is deprived of property in the instruments of production, so long as his labor-power is a commodity which he is obliged to sell to another, he is not a *free being*, be he white or black. He is simply a slave to a master and from morning until night is as much a bondsman as any negro ever was below Mason and Dixon's line before the war. Slaves are cheaper now and do more work than at any time in the world's history. The same principle of subjection that ruled in the chattel system rules in the wage system.

Let us inquire here, of what does slavery consist? It consists in the compulsory using of men for the benefit of the user. One who is forced to yield to another a part of the product of his toil is a slave, no matter where he resides or what may be the color of his skin. This was the condition of the negro

before the war and it is his condition to-day, and not only *his* condition but the condition of *all* propertyless workers. That the workman can to-day change his master does not alter the fact. The negro was a slave, not because of a certain master, but because he must yield a part of the wealth he produced to a master. To-day he may desert one master, but he must look up another or starve, and this necessity constitutes his continued slavery. Under the old system he was sure of a master and consequently his livelihood. One of the greatest curses of modern slavery is the fear of the slave that he will lose his position of servitude. Many a negro wage slave, and white as well, would gladly exchange their freedom to leave their master, for a guarantee that their master would not discharge them.

The loss of the security of existence is the fearful price which the negro has been obliged to pay for his so-called liberty. The insecurity of the wage worker is the greatest curse of the present system. Closely connected with this is the dependence which inheres in the wage system. The wage worker is absolutely dependent for his daily bread upon the favor or whim of his master. Indeed, the wage earner is a wage slave. The intensity of this slavery depends upon the amount of time which the workers are compelled to work gratuitously for others. Under present conditions they must work the greater portion of their time for some one else. It is thus that the wage-earning class is a slave to the employing class. Workingmen may change their master, but they are still at the mercy of the master class. The choice of the chattel slave was between work and the lash; the choice of a wage slave is between work and starvation. The whip of hunger is all sufficient to drive the wage slave to his task.

The worker to-day, then, is a slave, bound by the pressure of economic wants to compulsory servitude to idle capitalist masters. He is obliged to sell his liberties in exchange for the means of subsistence. He is under the greatest tyranny of which it is possible to conceive,—the tyranny of want. By this lash men are driven to work long hours and in unwholesome occupations, and to live in tenement rookeries in our city slums that for vileness would surpass the slave quarters of old. The man who has no work or is compelled to submit to wages dictated by a corporation, and is at the beck and call of a master for ten hours a day, has not much personal liberty to brag of over his prototype—the chattel slave. A man thus conditioned is far from free. John Stuart Mill said that “the majority of laborers have as little choice of occupation or freedom of locomotion, are practically as dependent on fixed rules and on the will of others, as they could be in any system short of actual slavery.” This is the condition into which the negro was “lib-

erated." It is quite evident that he has not yet secured anything worthy to be called *freedom*—he is still in need of emancipation.

The changed conditions which transformed the negro into a wage slave, identifies the negro problem with the labor problem as a whole, the solution of which is the abolition of wage slavery and the emancipation of both black and white from the servitude to capitalist masters. This can only be accomplished by collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. Socialism is the only remedy,—it is the only escape from personal or class rule. It would put an end to economic despotism and establish popular self-government in the industrial realm. Economic democracy is a corollary of political democracy. We want every person engaged in industry, whether male or female, white or black, to have a voice in making the rules under which they must work. Under socialism the workers would elect their own directors, regulate their hours of work and determine the conditions under which production would be carried on. We may be sure that when this power is vested in the producing class, the factories will be arranged according to convenience and beauty, and all disagreeable smells, vapor, smoke, etc., eliminated, the buildings well lighted, heated and ventilated, and every precaution taken against accidents. In other words, under socialism the laborers would have absolute freedom in the economic sphere in place of the present absolute servitude. Socialists emphasize the need of this economic freedom, for it is the basis of all freedom. Intellectual and moral freedom is practically nullified to-day through the absence of economic liberty.

Not only would socialism secure to the laborers greater liberty within the economic sphere, but what would be of more importance is the liberty that the regime would secure to all outside this realm. The real restrictions to-day are economic. We are prevented from doing the things we would like to do, not by governmental restrictions, but by limited means. I would like to take a trip abroad. No statute prohibits me, but I am restricted by the lack of the needed resources. Socialism would increase resources by securing to all steady employment and the full product of their toil. To-day labor is exploited out of fully 80 per cent of the wealth it brings into being. Socialism will abolish this exploitation.

But it is not only freedom *of* labor but freedom *from* labor that socialists seek. With a scientific organization of industry, eliminating all the wastes of the present system, two or three hours a day would suffice to supply all the comforts and even luxuries of life. This would secure to the laborer the leisure necessary to enable him to develop his faculties and which could be devoted to recreation and travel.

Socialism, then, would secure to the laborers the utmost freedom both within and without the economic sphere. It would enable men to live as men and would secure to each, regardless of his nationality, the best opportunity for free development and movement. There can be no liberty in economic dependence. The man who is in want or in the fear of want is not a free man. No man is free if he does not possess the means of livelihood. As long as he must look to the pleasure or profit of another for his living he is not independent, and without independence there can be no freedom. Freedom will become the heritage of all as soon as socialism is realized, because it will guarantee to all security, independence and prosperity by securing labor to all and recompensing each according to performance. Socialism contains the only hope for either black or white. True liberty and freedom can only be attained in the co-operative commonwealth.

But it may be said that although socialism would emancipate the negro from economic servitude, it would not completely solve the negro problem unless its advent would destroy race prejudices. This is precisely what socialism would do. Of course, it would not accomplish it all at once, but race prejudices cannot exist with true enlightenment. Socialism would educate and enlighten the race. It would secure to the laborers, whether black or white, the full opportunities for the education of their children. Socialism would not only demand that all children be educated, but it would make compulsory education effective by removing the incentive to deprive children of instruction. To-day thousands of children, white and black, are robbed of the bright days of childhood simply because employers can make money out of them. The income of the parents being insufficient to keep them in school, they are withdrawn from the school and sent to the factory. It does but little good to pass laws prohibiting child labor so long as it is beneficial to both parents and capitalists; they will conspire in some way to evade the law. The lack of learning, then, is not the fault of our schools but of our economic system which deprives the poor of the opportunity of utilizing them. Socialism would secure to all children this opportunity by giving to the head of the family sufficient income so that his children would not be obliged to become bread-winners. Socialism would not only secure to the child an education but it would secure to the adult ample leisure for the cultivation of those tastes which his training has awakened. These blessings would not be confined to the white race; socialism recognizes no class nor race distinction. It draws no line of exclusion. Under socialism the negro will enjoy, equally with the whites, the advantages and opportunities for culture and refinement. In

this higher education we may be sure race prejudices will be obliterated.

Not only will universal enlightenment destroy this low prejudice but abolition of competition will aid in working the same result. The struggle between the black and white to sell themselves in the auction of the new slave market has, in many quarters, engendered bitter race feeling, and that they might bid the fiercer against each other the masters have fanned this prejudice into hate. In other sections, as in the coal mines and railroad camps, the blacks have been used by the masters as a club to beat down striking whites. This antagonism will cease under socialism, and with it the hatred which springs from all class conflicts. It will even disappear under the present system just in proportion as workmen recognize the solidarity of human labor. Socialism emphasizes the fact that the interests of all laborers are identical regardless of race or sex. In this common class interest race distinctions are forgotten. If this is true of socialists to-day, how much more will it be true when humanity is lifted to the higher plane where the economic interests of all are identical.

Socialism, then, is the only solution of the negro problem. It offers to this much-wronged race the joys and privileges of an emancipated humanity. It proposes to make him joint owner with his white neighbor in the nation's capital, and to secure him equal opportunity for the attainment of wealth and progress. Socialism will secure to him the enjoyment of the inalienable rights of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To-day, in common with all wage slaves, he is deprived, by an economic system of inequality, of the privilege of exercising such rights. In the new economic environment where the negro will enjoy equality of opportunity, he will take on a new development.

The only hope for the colored race is in socialism, that system of society that gives to every individual, without regard to race, color or sex, an equal opportunity to develop the best within him. In such a society an individual's social position will be determined by the use he makes of his opportunities—by what he becomes.

Socialism, then, is the only hope for the negro and for humanity. To realize this ideal is the mission of the working class. Modern production is wiping out all distinctions of race and color and dividing society into two classes—the laborers and the capitalists. The interests of these two classes are diametrically opposed, and the time has come for the black and the white to join hands at the ballot box against the common enemy—capitalism.

The Socialist party is the only political organization that has anything to offer the colored race. The Republican and Dem-

ocrat parties are both parties of capitalism and could not help the negro if they would and would not if they could. There is absolutely no choice between these two parties so far as the rights of labor are concerned. They both represent the interests of the capitalist class and their sham battles are for the purpose of dividing the laborers into various factions lest they unite to secure their freedom.

The experience of the negro since the civil war has proven that the colored race will never secure equal opportunities so long as the present system exists. They were given the ballot by the Republican party, because that party wished to use them as a tool against the Democrats. The white laborer was originally endowed with the franchise for precisely the same motives. When the mercantile class wished to wipe out the last thread of landed aristocracy they gave the ballot to the workers and used them as a weapon to accomplish that end. The laborers have been continually deceived and intimidated into doing the master's bidding ever since. The negro, perhaps, has been the most deceived of any branch of the working class. He has been taught that he is the special ward of the Republican party, and he has turned in the midst of the barbaric outrages committed by Southern fanatics and asked his supposed friends for help, but his appeals have fallen on deaf ears. The recent disfranchisement of the negro in the South is but an indication of what capitalists will soon try to do with all the workers regardless of color and regardless of location. The conditions of forty or fifty years ago have changed. The capitalist class of the North and the South have now joined hands as the owners of wage slaves, and while the Democrat party represents the interests of the small capitalist and the Republican party the interests of the large capitalist, the interests of both are opposed to the laborer.

May the negro wage slave become awakened to his own interests, the interests of the class of which he is a member, and cast his ballot for the only party that stands for human emancipation—the Socialist party. When socialism supplants capitalism the negro problem will be forever solved.

Charles H. Vail.

The Anthracite Coal Strike



NY history of the great anthracite coal strike would of necessity include a philosophical inquiry into the evolution of industry in general; a study of ethics; an exposition of man's laws and religious creeds, and a detailed examination of our political and business institutions and a multitude of minor details of geography, topography, geology, chemistry, electricity, mathematics, surveying and transportation by wagon, railroads, steamships, sailing ships and canal boats.

The energy of preparatory ages is stored in the vast beds of coal and an almost equal amount of human energy has been expended in studying all the foregoing subjects and applying their results to convert stored and latent energy into the active forces that are urging mankind on to the highest state of human perfection.

Light, heat, life and power are now dependent upon the production and distribution of coal but little less than on the production and distribution of food, clothing and shelter, without which men might still be sitting naked and chilled in mental and spiritual darkness.

A coal strike, therefore, comes nearer being a slipping of foundations than any casual observation would discover, and it may easily be imagined without any "baseless fabric for the vision" that some day when capital has made its last great central organization it will be met by the compact forces of organized labor, and out of that tremendous last struggle will come emancipation for the capitalist and the workman, for "where there is one slave there are always two," and coal lands, one of the great sources of productive wealth and enlarged happiness, will pass from private ownership to public ownership and displace the present slow processes of confiscation of accumulated values and daily privations for the vast army of men who daily go into the bowels of the earth, exposed to unknown and unavoidable dangers to produce what is fundamentally necessary to human progress. To briefly view the anthracite coal strike as something more than an industrial bubble to be burst by the breath of a political dictator,—something more than a mere evidence of capitalistic greed on the part of the mine-owners—something more than an indication of organized tyranny on the part of the miners—is the task of patience enlarged by some personal contact with miners and children in the mines and owners in their homes and offices.

It is too common to say of these miners, struggling for better conditions, that "they are a rabble," "a ragged crew," "the scum of the people," a "gang of wretches well worthy of their condition," "deluded by agitators and walking delegates"—"ignorant, disorderly, improvident and intemperate," as if their poverty were their fault, as if their ignorance were not the fault of their betters.

It is also quite too common to hear the most abusive denunciations of capitalists and to see fingers of scorn pointed at their seeming greed and cold indifference while a full knowledge would require pity for both and not angry condemnation of either man or master. That there are capitalists whose hearts seem to have the functions of a liver secreting bile instead of doing the office of a human heart to send warm, pulsing blood to move hand and brain to do for and think of others, is not to be denied. That there are miners and men whose degradation is of the lowest is not less true, but society produces both and deserves all she produces and must mother her own until she so readjusts her system of industry as to evoke the best that divinely dwells in all hearts, instead of producing monsters of greed and selfishness in the capitalist class and atrocious assassins in the proletariat.

The anthracite coal regions of northeastern Pennsylvania include about 400 square miles of territory and is the only considerable anthracite coal field known in the world. The surface is broken into parallel ridges conformable with the geologic anticlines and synclines. In the latter are contained at depths varying from surface exposures of coal to veins more than 1,500 feet below the valley surface, very many almost inexhaustible veins of coal. The ridges of surface are vast barrens of moor and rocks, huge as the pyramids, void of vegetation, save brush and huckleberry bushes. The veins of coal lie from an almost perpendicular pitch to a nearly flat level and vary in thickness from three feet to seventy feet. At Lattimer, for miles the great mammoth vein is workable from the surface and the rapid explosions of dynamite and the flying rock and coal is one of the most impressive sights in the world of industry.

Scientific engineering has built railroads along the windings of the valleys, upon the sides of the mountains, through them and over them. Huge stationary engines pull vast quantities of coal in cars, from one plane up to another having some natural outlet to the world of demand. Canals wind along the rocky Lehigh to carry the black treasure to the seaboard for factories, homes and ships that sail all seas over. The great puffing hoisting engines draw the coal from the lowest veins with incredible speed, four or five hundred cars a day being the quite ordinary capacity of an average hoisting shaft. The

most wonderful machinery is found in and about the mines. In the gangways and many parts of the mines are electric lights, electric motors for hauling coal to the foot of the hoisting shafts and throughout the mines great volumes of pure fresh air are constantly blowing, driven by enormous fans running night and day. All the machinery, all the air, every department from surface to the remotest depths is under inspectors appointed and paid by the state. Men of practical knowledge, bred and trained in the mines, and I believe from personal acquaintance with them, men of high character, with humane feeling for the men whose dangerous avocation they thoroughly know. There is everywhere evidence not only of the Creator's power and beneficence, but also an inspiring exhibition of divine intelligence on the part of "unknown, unhonored and unsung" inventors, engineers and mechanics who seem to have mastered the hard conditions of nature's mountains and rocks and waters piled over and high above the precious treasures stored to bless mankind.

It is at once apparent that but for the coal, neither canals, railroads nor wagons would find traffic of freight or persons, for the whole region is void of any other value than its stores of matchless fuel. In the valleys and on the mountains are villages and cities quite comparable with like places anywhere in any other sections of this country. Nearly all are connected not only with steam railroads but with scores of trolley lines of high power and capacity. There are schools for children who should be in them and not in or about the mines. There are churches of all denominations, many of them with only one redeeming feature, namely, "the redeeming feature," and this feature is used with full force to exact contributions that have erected superb edifices easily matching those to be found anywhere else. Saloons, parks and beer gardens flourish almost as thickly there as in any of our old or new possessions. Banks paying 50 per cent annual dividends, that boast a par value of \$50 and a market price of \$1,200 per share, flourish and fleece poor and rich alike. All these are not extraordinary accompaniments; they are the ordinary accompaniments of the modern system of industry almost everywhere.

To the presence of many of these accompaniments may (the superficial thinker might say) be ascribed much of the poverty, intemperance and degradation of the miners and laborers who undertake indescribable dangers, perhaps with little conscious thought of the purpose of their toil and bravery, but in reality nevertheless for the betterment of the race. The laws of the land give full legal right to individuals, partners and corporations, railroads excepted, to acquire by purchase or inheritance, a fee simple title to the coal lands to the center of the

earth and perpendicularly to the stars if such possession in either direction should be necessary to the holding of the treasures between the two points mentioned. It is safe to assert that such laws did not contemplate the possible ownership by one man or by one body of men corporated or unincorporated of all this immense body of land. The laws of the state of Pennsylvania do not permit railroad companies to own and operate coal lands, and yet there are nine huge, excessively capitalized railroads directly or indirectly engaged, not merely as was intended in hauling coal to the markets, but in operating coal lands and exploiting the people in anarchistic violations of such laws. So that by methods known and unknown competition for the carrying of coal has been destroyed because of this greed for owning the lands, and the small individual operations, so called, now 28 per cent of the total production, are *doomed* in the near future to utter absorption into one, namely, the nine combined railroads. Sixty per cent of tide water prices is all that is now allowed to the individual or smaller producing companies, and all these are forced to play the old children's game of "thumbs up and up she comes, and now, Simon says, thumbs down, and down she comes."

Several of the larger railroad companies' lines of the anthracite regions extend into and far beyond the bituminous coal regions in central and western Pennsylvania and openly carry bituminous coal to any and all eastern markets at from one-half to one-third the carrying charges put upon like tonnage of anthracite coal. Most of the railroads haul and consume bituminous coal even in their passenger engines. The individual operators have often, when they were still numerous and powerful, tried to build railroads to take their production, but soon their numbers would be again diminished by some long-headed brother selling out and transferring property, brain and individuality to the larger combine, and so the individual operators have been forced again and again to practice newer and closer economies at the expense of miners and consumers, and left powerless to advance wages, and in most desirable ways to make needed improvements or provide essential safeguards to protect the men in and about the mines. If he seeks to recoup himself by increasing the output of his mines, thus putting the men on fuller time and increased income, he is met by the "limit of production," as if under proper conditions there could be a limit to the production except as limited by the capacity to produce and consume, and thus far he has blindly agreed annually to limit the output of coal. In fact he could do nothing else, since the power to fix prices and output is and has been for years in the hands of the coal carrying roads. But here it must be seen that the sales of anthracite

coal reach a limit very quickly because of the cheaper carrying charges given to the larger output of bituminous coal, and as both coals are mined and carried for money only, the effects of unfair treatment of either producers or men engaged in the business can under the system have no sympathetic or any other consideration. This feature of the impossibility of exercising the better instincts of the human heart and mind is the most discouraging of all. The managers of such huge industries where thousands are employed become mere captains of industry and can seldom see or know the sufferings of the man "hard pressed in the ranks."

One thing that strikes the observer from bituminous fields is the fact that in the anthracite coal fields consumers fill their cellars with that clean beautiful coal at from \$1.25 to \$2.75 per ton as against \$2.20 to \$3.00 for our dirty, smoking coal here,* and so the puzzle is not less easy to solve when he sees the larger cost of producing anthracite coal as against bituminous or block coal. He sees moreover that as near as sixteen miles from the mines in the anthracite regions the consumer is charged the same price for his coal as is charged in New York, 150 miles farther away. He looks with curious sadness upon the methods of exploitation of labor on the one hand and consumers on the other, and half amusedly when he considers, if he thinks at all, of the almost wild political enthusiasm of both these classes, who honestly seem to think that either the gold standard or the demonetization of silver, or imperialism or any old demagogicalism that leads to the spoils and emoluments of office is the *paramount issue*, and whenever a brilliant speaker tells them of the "march of the flag" they choke with patriotism and become forgetful of the real things that concern them most. How long! how long! will the children follow the beckoning hands of leaders who laugh while they gently sift the dustman's sand in their eyes?

All these railroads to which I have briefly referred were exceedingly costly, built when material and labor were costly, built in a country whose topography required the most expensive construction. Their capitalization is greatly disproportionate to their cost. There are vast holdings of lands in fee simple and on royalties, payable annually whether coal is mined or not. All these things are a tremendous burden which must, according to the simplest rules of arithmetic, be charged to production account, thus taxing the consumer on the one hand and labor on the other. There are more roads than are necessary to do the work of transportation, and so this ponderous weight of cost and capital and water, requiring dividends and bonds and rapidly compounding interest and taxes, must be

*Terre Haute, Indiana.

saddled somewhere, somewhere! The burden has but two places to rest. First, upon the consumer; but the price to the consumer has now reached the highest limit, because if this limit is exceeded, the consumer will use soft coal. So neither the individual nor the combined railroads *can* exact, demand or extort much above the prices that have ruled for the last few years, since the coal roads reached out, in order to pay high salaries, dividends and interest, into the fields of rapidly increasing production of bituminous coal.

Where else could the burden fall? Not, certainly, upon the Vanderbilts—not upon the Morgans—not upon the Rockefellers. No, indeed; society need not look for sacrifices from these or any of their co-operators. If they should take less from the sweat and toil of humanity, how could the castles at Newport, Asheville and New York be maintained with all their fortunate ducking and bowing servants? Would any one expect that the yachts and private railroad palaces and equipages could be docked or sidetracked, and the church,—what would the church do without Rockefeller's income and contributions? Surely the spiritual body of the blessed Son of Man must be domiciled. And what would become of Chicago University? Ah, there is the everlasting obstacle. It must be maintained to teach the youth of the land the way to become one of God's trustees, in not only this but in the religious and political institutions of the country. Surely no one would believe that these should participate in easing the hard conditions of existence here so as to have human hearts prepared to believe in a merciful God and a loving Christ.

Where else then must these burdens rest if not upon the consumers of wealth—if not upon the exploiters of values? Logically, certainly, unavoidably, absolutely upon the miners and men who dig and delve and blast and haul the coal from its deep and dangerous beds into the sunlight of commerce.

Included with the last class of sufferers, as participating producers of coal wealth, are an army of book-keepers, clerks, stenographers, superintendents, bosses, and lastly, general managers, bowed with the unsolvable problems of keeping profits, by all manner of economies, up to a dividend point, having to bear the ever-increasing interest charges, eating the money value of the coal far faster than interest and taxes devour vacant lots in Terre Haute, *driven* to take a hand in the devilish windings of politics to prevent the extortions of politicians, placidly riding on passes and nevertheless seeking to impose ever harder and harder conditions upon these and other public corporations in local, county and state legislation, or have a price for forbearance; obliged to constantly increase their watchfulness to protect the property from those who wrongly

but none the less *naturally* come to feel embittered by the burdens of managerial economies being placed too heavily upon their galled and wincing shoulders.

High-board fences with barbed wire on top are now considered a necessary additional expense. Special deputies at high prices, with detectives at higher prices, are still greater burdens and the state at large, the producer and consumer *must*, under the conditions now existing, in the end pay the whole wasteful expense.

On October 1 one of the largest coal companies in the region,—a company boasting a surplus of \$6,000,000, a market value of \$520 per share, with annual dividends of 21 per cent,—removed men of life-long service, men of the highest talents, of the gentlest character and of approved ability, proved by having given this company the very values I have quoted. These men were summarily displaced by new and cheaper men, men who declare their intentions of disposing, *p. d. q.*, and in that abbreviated symbolism fully set forth, of the old foggy kindness and sentimentalism of the deposed management, guilty of no offense save being humane and sympathetic with their men and of being unwilling and unable to go farther in unjust exactions to maintain under constantly increasing difficulties such excessive dividends. The fact, without doubt, will soon be admitted that this great company, hitherto independent and loyally standing with the few remaining independent or smaller producers in their everlasting fight for freight concessions, more cars, and being now engaged in building a new railroad to tide-water, has passed into the hands of the Vanderbilt-Morgan and Standard people, and what has been accomplished in the oil business, the sugar business, the gas business, the street car business, the meat business and many other prime sources of employment for brains and muscle will have been done in the anthracite coal business.* Then the larger task, already under way, the completion of the destruction of competition in the bituminous fields, will the sooner and easier be accomplished.

All the minor grievances of excessive charges for powder bought in the open market at from 90 cents to \$1.50 per keg, and charged to the miner at \$2.75; the long ton, 2,240 pounds required and 3,360 pounds insisted upon, the consumer getting, of course, a short ton—very, very short, often less and never an ounce more than 2,000 pounds; the dockage at the surface; company stores, company houses, company doctors—all these minor grievances seem unfair, foully unfair, to the public because they do not understand the reasons for such strange things. All these, whenever they exist, and they do not exist

*According to recent newspaper report, this prediction is now fulfilled.

at all collieries, are unimportant and for any great length of time impossible to settle or arbitrate or dispense with without being replaced by diminutions in other ways that would seem quite as unjust. The whole trouble, the everlasting trouble, lies with deeper causes, some of which I have indicated in passing. I say now, fairly, patiently, kindly and with love in my heart for the men and children who work and for the men who manage that vast industry, the causes of your differences and hardships are beyond your brains and hearts to permanently adjust. Instead of opposing each other you should join hands and strike together against the forces that are blindly dividing you, and some day such a strike will come. It will, sooner or later, be impossible for one family, or two or three joined in a corporate wedlock as the Vanderbilts, Morgans and Rockefellers now are, to order and control managers, superintendents and men and exploit on the stage of life eighty millions of people, for *the people* will be forced ere long to know what the paramount issue of life really is. Then these pathetic grievances and scenes that are now pounding the hearts of unnumbered men, women and children who work, and of mine owners who justly believe themselves to be fair-minded men, will become impossible. It is moreover certain that not a man in the Vanderbilt family or in the Morgan family or in the Rockefeller family ever saw a coal mine. Not one of them, male or female, old or young, Democrat or Republican, Methodist or Baptist, ever heard the awful, terrifying roar of exploding gases in those dark depths, ever even thought of the horrors of being entombed and hopeless of rescue, or ever wondered how strangely unfair and illogical the system is that rewards the doer of the meanest and most dangerous work with the smallest pay. They do not know how black God's beautiful earth must seem to a man or a child crushed by falling rock, having, alas! too often and unfortunately enough life left in his poor maimed body to live and in this supposedly Christian land and know that society would pension him had he gone from father, mother, wife and home to plunge bayonets into quivering human bodies to extend the commerce of his employers and to continue the "march of the flag" to lands where nuggets of gold may be had for the products of his toil. He knows, alas! too well, the little value of a human life in the grinding necessities of an industrial system that has dollars, not human happiness, for its object. How much love and human kindness can remain in the hearts of a generation that are learning to know that a "mule dead" is a loss of \$100 or \$150, while a "man dead" requires only another to fill his place. It is a dreadful thing, more pregnant with awful meaning than any one can guess. When one goes down in the earth with men and boys and mules and realizes, per-

haps for the first time, that a mule is worth all that it costs, and that a man—! Ah, how quickly every tool is dropped, whether from the hands of the Hun, the Italian, the Welshman or the Irishman,—no thought on their part of a lost hour or day; how tenderly and with such tears as even a Mary would hasten to dry with the hairs of her head,—when some comrade falls or is crushed and must be borne to the ones who live in constant fear and expectation of such common sorrows, do all these blackened children of toil and ignorance fly to help the unfortunate brother. The calm serenity of a Vanderbilt, a Morgan, or a Rockefeller can never be disturbed, because they have never felt the blessed happiness of being in sympathy with the weak and lowly children who toil that they may live and spin not, and be clothed like God's lilies and then piously accuse God of having entrusted them with money to farther and farther exploit God's children. What could one believe or say of such judgment on the part of God if the blasphemous accusation could be known to be true? These men are more to be pitied than condemned, and we should "judge not as the Judge judges, but as the sunlight falling around a helpless thing."

This side of any radical change in our social system many necessary reforms are possible, but not likely to be adopted. The hungry might be made a little more contented than they have of late years been with their privations. A moderate, even a very slight reform, in the conduct of the great railroads might greatly tend to something like a tranquil basis, but driven as they are by the conditions observed, there seems no stopping place except through suffering of all the classes.

The true test of the value of all institutions, whether business, religious or political, is their utility and conformity to justice, reason and the establishment of happiness here on earth. Ignorance and prejudice stand strongly in the way of reformation. The timid are prevented from approaching its consideration by the cry of theory, theory idealism, dreaming, impossible of accomplishment by reason of the badness of human nature, and so they cling to some old superstition and placidly fold their arms and appeal to the law of the survival of the fittest, and all the while are forced to see that it means only the survival of the slickest. They decry innovation as an encroachment upon individual liberty, lift their inquiring voices to ask what will become of incentive and hear the echoes answer, "What will become of incentive?" But the echo adds the wiser query, what opportunity will remain for incentive? when nearly all men are forced to acknowledge a master now, so that preachers dare not preach, teachers dare not teach and business men feel the fear of business losses if they speak their soul's thought

in condemnation of the noisome nastiness that our present social system is breeding faster than all the reformers of whatever ilk or name can influence or hinder. In such circumstances it is answer enough to such, that the principles of freedom are really the most ancient and longest established and were first contemporaneous, with joint interest in the results of human toil. That tyranny and corruption, constantly submerging the morals of our dear people, are but another form of enslavement that must have abolition, and that those who now in this and other lands bestir themselves for a more rational system of promoting life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and the right to work, are aiming only at a restoration of rights which were once universally acknowledged and of which the value will be demonstrated not only by the evils that must flow from our present social order, but by the happiness, glory and prosperity that will continue to result from a scientific social order of industry that must soon be almost universally demanded.

S. M. Reynolds.



The Century of the Workingmen

Address by Prof. Emile Vandervelde at the Maison du Peuple, Brussels,
on the evening of December 31, 1900.



E celebrate to-night the final establishment of the new International, the outcome of the whole working-class movement of the nineteenth century, the starting point of the decisive social struggles which will mark the century so soon to begin. Symbolizing in the program of our festival the essential progress accomplished in the last hundred years, we began with the Marseillaise, we shall end with the song of the International.

The Marseillaise is the song of triumph of the third estate, it is the Revolution, only national as yet; it is the hymn of republican France defending her free institutions against the coalition of Europe.

The International is the song of the hopes of the proletariat, it is the hymn par excellence of the world party which, to quote the fitting words of the Austrian Social Democrats, "condemns the privileges of nations like those of birth, of sex, of possession, and declares that the struggle against exploitation must be international, as is exploitation itself."

Over the whole surface of the globe, indeed, capitalist exploitation is spreading, wallowing in blood or in mire.

WORLD POLITICS.

The great American trusts hypocritically menace the independence of Cuba. Two hundred thousand soldiers, the passive instruments of an aristocracy of financiers, are trampling under their feet the South African republics. And while the wounds of Armenia still bleed, with no intervention from Europe, the capitalist governments are calling truce to their commercial antagonisms to hurl themselves upon China—worse mongols than the Mongols themselves,—answering massacre by massacre, pillage by pillage.

But these atrocities, no matter how just the horror they inspire, should not blind us to certain significant phases of the transformation which has been working under our eyes for twenty-five years, though it be through fire and sword, it is the conquest of the world which is being accomplished, it is world politics which is taking the place of national politics.

The United States have now entered into the concert of

powers. The six English colonies of Australia are forming themselves into an autonomous republic. The partition of Africa is completed. The iron bands of the Trans-Siberian railway already traverse the whole of Asia; everywhere capitalism penetrates, bringing exploitation and war, but everywhere socialism also is not slow to follow, promising freedom and peace.

Japan had scarcely introduced the parliamentary forms of Europe before a socialist journal, which reaches us regularly every fortnight, was started at Tokio. Moreover, a glance at the bulletin of the department of labor at Washington will convince any one that under the pressure of unions and strikes, wages have tripled in Japanese industry since the introduction of the factory system. So without despising the dangers and the crises that may take their rise from the internationalization of the market, we may fairly believe that the addition of the yellow workmen, joining their low wages to their inferior producing power, will never have more than transient effects on the standard of life of the white workmen. On the other hand, those who in view of the triumphs of brute force, the aggravations of military despotism and the disgraces of colonial politics might be inclined to pessimism and discouragement, need only look back to the first days, infinitely more somber, of the century now drawing to a close, and in a comparison of the two epochs they will gain renewed confidence.

THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

It was on the morrow of the Eighteenth Brumaire. The French republic had accomplished the death of Gracchus Babeuf, and his friends of the conspiracy of the "equals," guillotined in 1796, seemed to have carried with them their yet unchristian child, socialism, into the common grave of revolutionary ideas. The bourgeoisie, tearing up the Declaration of Rights, contented itself with the civil code. Universal suffrage, which gave birth to the convention, had been abolished since the first Vendemiaire of the fourth year of the republic. In England, the members from rotten boroughs were diminishing in the House of Commons. Absolutism held undivided sway in all the other countries. The noise of the cannon of Marengo drowned the complaints of liberty. And yet, just when the revolution seemed dead, another revolution, more destructive and more fruitful than all the revolutions accomplished for eighteen centuries, was beginning in the depths of the social organism and was preparing the formation of the most revolutionary class of all, the industrial proletariat. It is in fact from the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the midst of the turmoil of the wars of the empire, that the reign of the machine has been established.

It is the machine, daughter of industry and commerce, which, adding prodigiously to the social forces which gave it birth, goes on to establish the world-market, to occasion the concentration of capital, to group the laboring population in cities, to accentuate the antagonism of the classes, to create modern socialism.

It is the revolutionary machine, to use Lassalle's striking phrase, which in quick succession is to transform the cotton and wool industries, to multiply a hundred fold the product of the extractive industries from coal to petroleum, to metamorphose metal-working by substituting coal for vegetable combustibles, to revolutionize transportation and communication on land and sea by the locomotive, the steamship and the electric telegraph, and finally to develop a new agriculture by throwing upon the markets of Europe the meats and cereals of the whole world.

Here is a transformation without parallel in history, and belonging almost wholly within the limits of this century. The spinning machines and looms do indeed appear during the last third of the preceding century, but they do not spread on the continent till after the restoration (1815). The steam engine, applied first to coal mining, then to all forms of manufacturing industry, dates from 1790. It was in 1819 that the "Savannah," the first steamer making regular trips between the United States and Europe, entered the port of Liverpool; in 1830 the railway between Liverpool and Manchester was opened; in 1838 Morse announced from New York to the Academy of Sciences his invention of the electric telegraph; in 1840, at the instance of Rowland Hill, penny postage was extended over all England; and each of these innovations or inventions, spreading with increasing rapidity, brought on countless revolutions in all fields of social and political life.

THE GENESIS OF SOCIALISM.

The postal reform, coinciding with the general introduction of the rotary press, created the cheap newspapers. The formidable network of railroads, of trans-Atlantic navigation lines, of postal communications, of telegraphs, land and sub-marine, brings individuals and nations together, annihilates local peculiarities, and contributes powerfully toward developing a universal conscience. Large-scale manufacturing, at first English, later European, pursues its triumphal march across the world, crushing under its steps the primitive forms of production, and grouping in its factories a proletariat ever growing in numbers. Colossal fortunes are built up, monstrous miseries are unveiled. Socialism leaps forth at once from the pity of some and the suffering of others. Owen, Fourier, St. Simon and the brilliant throng of their disciples preach the new gospel. The

Lyonnaise in 1832 raised the banner of revolt. The Chartist movement grows. All Europe trembles. Finally, at the very hour when the revolution of 1848 groups the bourgeoisie and the working class together for the last time, in a common revolutionary movement, Engels and Marx sum up and co-ordinate in the Communist manifesto the socialist thought of the first half of the century, affirm the inevitableness of the class struggle and bring to the toilers the formula of the International, "Workingmen of all countries, unite."

It is from this moment we may say that the history of socialism is linked inextricably with the history of the nineteenth century. Against it, thenceforth all the privileged classes are to combine, all governments are to arm themselves.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIALISM.

They attack it with exceptional legislation, they take away from it in Germany and in Austria the universal suffrage that had been won by force of arms; they imprison its leaders, they prohibit its meetings, they drive it to desperate insurrections.

On two occasions, in June, 1848, and in May, 1871, its adversaries flattered themselves that they had crushed it. Twice it was born again, fuller than ever of life and strength,—in the first International, founded in 1864, and in the new International, proclaimed in 1899, consecrated by the festivals of the first of May of the following years, and organized definitely on September 24, 1900. Henceforth we may affirm that it rests on indestructible foundations,—the national working class parties which exist in all parts of the world, in all countries where capitalism has penetrated.

Everywhere, in fact, from Russia to New Zealand, the proletariat has organized, publicly or secretly; everywhere, under different forms, but with the same final end, the Social Democracy is arranging itself against the old-time powers; it is wrestling from them political rights; it is imposing upon them social reforms; it is constraining popes and emperors to make it concessions in the vain hope of arresting progress.

THE CENTURY OF THE WORKERS.

In all the domains of thought and of action, in the works of artists as in the writings of poets, in the books of scientists as in the text of laws, in the millions of newspapers, pamphlets, publications which the democratized press spreads daily through all houses and families, the socialist idea is penetrating, filtering into brains, crystallizing into purposes, conquering minds and hearts with its sovereign power.

We see it forbidden in all parliaments, preached in all cities of workingmen, its feasts kept with religious zeal with each recurring year, by all the nations of workers. And in this cen-

ture, which will appear to future generations, perhaps, as the greatest ever lived by men, in this century, which might be called the century of music since it gave us Wagner and Beethoven, the century of poetry since it saw the death of Goethe and the birth of Victor Hugo, the century of science since it was illumined by Darwin, socialism has awakened such hopes, has opened so magnificent an era, has stirred such mighty movements in the proletarian mass that the nineteenth century will remain in history under the name Gladstone gave it, the century of workers.

Citizens and comrades, in the name of the International Bureau I extend to all our companions in struggle, all those who work and suffer for the cause of the revolutionary proletariat, our most fraternal wishes for the year which now begins, for the century which opens, and which shall be the century of triumph,—

THE CENTURY OF SOCIALISM.

—(*Translated by Charles H. Kerr.*)



The Relation of Instructor and Student



COMING through the halls daily, one cannot but hear: "I rushed him dead, and yet hadn't looked at the lesson—Ha, ha, lucky man!—He won't get to me to-day, so I'll risk going in.—If you hadn't braced me up I'd been a goner.—Lend me your cribs.—Oh dear, oh dear, I really can't get this stuff, and I'm deathly afraid of him.—I'll get square with old—" And coming up the stairs, one must wind his way amid sighs and spiteful laughter, and through final paroxysms of x, y, z's and thumbing of logarithms and lexicons ere the dreaded knell summons the guilty to the modern inquisition. The trial endured, there is a rush for the lockers and escape. But even fresh air and changed surroundings cannot dispel the incubus of goading duty from the conscientious and the rankling self-defense of independence. The prevalent attitude of student and teacher is characteristically shown in one of our collections of imaginative number forms where only the weekly holidays and vacation months are bright colored, while all the college days of the year are dark and dismal. On these days of supposed culture study many a conscientious student, in whom open antagonism has been suppressed by habitation in the mill-stone of duty, despairs with Faust:

"Nur mit Entsetzen wach' ich Morgens auf,
Ich möchte bittere Thränen weinen,
Den Tag zu sehn, der mir in seinem Lauf
Nicht Einen Wunsch, erfüllen wird, nicht Einen.
Der selbst die Ahnung jeder Lust
Mit eigensinnigem Kritteln mindert,
Die Schöpfung meiner regen Brust
Mit tausend Lebensfratzen hindert.
Auch muss ich, wenn die Nacht sich niedersenkt,
Mich ängstlich auf das Lager strecken;
Auch da wird keine Rast geschenkt,
Mich werden wilde Traume schrecken."

Another picture. A crowd of 150 German students is struggling for places nearest the door of the lecture room. It is an hour before the lecture time, and in the hot summer vacation, too. The door being finally unlocked, there is a rush for front seats; this is repeated daily. The unfortunate upper rows of the amphitheatre are aided with opera glasses. The instructor finally enters leisurely, good-naturedly acknowledges the storm of applause, throws up some human vertebrae to each couple of students, takes up a spinal column, and without more introduction begins to point out and explain on the real material,

the descriptions of human anatomy in the books and cuts. For two continuous hours daily for four weeks he thus shows with an invaluable collection of preparations all the main anatomy of our wonderful bodies. Helpful models, charts, blackboard drawings and lantern slides add to his demonstration of the real material. Every eye is on him, with or without opera glasses. For the cell anatomy, a long row of microscopes are ready with real preparations and with schematic drawings under each microscope's foot for guidance. In small groups he repeatedly demonstrates the visceral organs on the "Leiche." After each lecture students crowd about him with real questions and for personal examination of the material, which, together with the whole anatomical museum, was open all day for their study. Out of lecture hours he was to be found all day in his laboratory, and, though always busy, he ever had leisure for a caller who really wanted to ask and learn anything. The students honored him for his knowledge, were grateful to him far beyond the large fee they gladly paid, and always felt deeply the privilege he offered them in thus gaining a most valuable introduction or review to the most important organism on our earth.

As a participant in this group of students, I naturally fell to comparing these contrasting attitudes of instructor and student. As undergraduates in college we never clamored for an hour to get in Trigonometry, Philosophy, Herodotus and Livy. Our anxiety was to get back seats instead of front ones. The instructor was always waiting for us, and this attitude of lying-in-wait seemed to be his main occupation and happiness. We appeared at the last moment, because he called the roll with military punctuality, not because it would have been our own most detrimental loss to have missed his hour. No applause and kindly welcomes were exchanged. His function was to find out whether we had learned anything alone from the textbook rather than to demonstrate, explain, and supplement the matter in the books. To be sure, his bringing in real demonstration material was usually out of the question, for it was either an intangible abstraction or was still in the monasteries. No helps to the gaining of knowledge were allowed,—his object was to make it hard and not easy. We always found fifty minutes too long instead of a couple of hours too short. If we lingered after the hour, it was to steal a look at the inquisitor's judgment book, to raise our mark by feigning questions, or to receive a penalty. He was never in his class-room except during "business hours," and we never knew nor cared what he did with the rest of his time. It was understood through the janitor, however, that, aside from getting up his catechism each evening for the next day, he shaved himself, read French novels, and sat. Thus we naturally had no respect for his hand-to-

mouth knowledge and no gratitude for his keeping our nose down to the grindstone.* Our emancipation day came with passing our final examination by any means escaping detection; while in the other case no examination had been given,—the instructor's part was to offer valuable knowledge with the best known methods; how much each student had profited by it was his own concern and not the instructor's.

An effort to break through this antagonism I can never forget. Having been attracted to the character of Spinoza in some outside reading, I ventured to call on the Professor of Philosophy—though never having been invited by him nor any professor to visit them out of class hours—and expressed my interest in Spinoza and desire to know more of him. But after shifting about in his chair the professor said that really his notes on Spinoza were not at hand, but when he got around to him again in his course he would be better prepared to talk of him. So, with apologies for interrupting him, I withdrew and left him to continue his "book-making," as he expressed it, with a smile which displayed clearly the commercial motive of his industry. Walking away, I wondered if his knowledge of Spinoza could be more than parrot-deep, or if his interest in him went beyond his adaptability for making our lives uncomfortable. And later, on finding the inspiring modern companionship of Spinoza's Theologico-Political Treatise and the nobility of his life as shown in his letters, I naturally believed that one who showed no knowledge of or interest in these highest parts of a subject he taught must be an impostor or my enemy.

What, now, are the reasons for these contrasting attitudes of teacher and student? First of all, the one taught a subject which to him personally had been for years of great interest and worth. Not to the exclusion of other kinds of knowledge, but, after a considerable and varied trial of other kinds of knowledge, he had been attracted to this as his life field of specialization. Every year his love for and devotion to his subject increased, though the ever-enlarging bounds of its material and possibilities seemed to dwarf his progress, and made him more cautious and modest. Though he gladly gave up part of his day and year to those who genuinely wanted to try the worth of his field and took the highest delight in the sympathy and companionship of the few who finally joined him in this "Hauptfach," yet he specially looked forward to his own daily hours of study and to his vacation months for their fullness of work and their most deep and inspiring happiness.

On the other hand, the students either seriously wanted

* Two honorable exceptions should in justice be mentioned,—two of the highest type of teachers, and for whom we all had much gratitude then and far more now. But the uncongenial field for their valuable subjects was shown in the fact that the one was forced to leave the college, though bitter opposition could not expel the other.

to test the worth of his subject, or, having already found it valuable, wanted more. They came to him because he could give them more real knowledge than the books and more than other teachers of the same subject. Realizing the great advantages thus offered, with the wealth of helpful material and experience for gaining the most real knowledge with the least labor, they concentrated their hours and interest with an enthusiasm and glad devotion which was contagious and most inspiring.

How did the mercenary task-master regard his subject? Did he stand at his private office blackboard on Saturday or Monday developing the beauties of the binomial formula and spherical triangle, or solace his weariness on the car trip home by fondly taking from his breast pocket his book of logarithms, or forego church on a peaceful Sunday morning that he might demonstrate to the children on his knees why they believed one line was equal to another?

Did the philosopher loafing in his summer hammock feel his heart thrill with the thought that those very leaves and birds and skies above were constructed on the Hegelian dialectic principle of Nothing + Being = Becoming? Did he ever value his "life work" enough to possess his own Kant, or did he permanently borrow the library copy? Are the Greek teacher's steps made buoyant with gladness for the message he brings his impatient students as the morning air revives the scenes and associations of entuthen exelaunei? Perhaps, though; the Latin teacher is reminded, when winds are high, of his beloved Cicero, and thus amid the turmoils of life feels the constant presence of a rhetorical strength. For his lighter moods he takes up his well-worn Livy, heaving a pharisaical sigh at the incomparable joy which the original language adds to those charming ideas.

But, seriously, the foundation cause of this unfortunate antagonism is because so many required subjects are of such comparatively small or even trivial importance in genuine culture. The engineer will seek mathematics for his bridges and surveys, the scientific philologist and translator the original Greek and Latin, and in metaphysics the literary student will always find much beautiful literature and poetry but no short-cut "systems of knowledge." If the teacher of such subjects has, perchance, more than a mercenary interest in them, it is usually because he has had no experience with better kinds of knowledge and has become attached to them on the pleasure-pain habit principle by which one can come to feel lonely for any kind of torture, if it's only kept up long enough, and in this educative process the ascetic devotee is not killed.

Now, of course, the reason which is given by teachers of

such subjects for forcing so many students into this attitude of antagonism is because they need "discipline"—"Entbehren sollst du! sollst entbehren!" This reminds one of the usual pursuit of technique among musicians—always "practicing"—and how few ever get to Beethoven and Brahms. But in an intellectual art, even less than in a partly manual art, is any long exclusive training necessary. For culture as well as for specialization one gets all the necessary discipline and training by working directly at a subject which will also give some worthy result. The deductive reasoning training of the "disciplinary studies" can, on the other hand, be shown to be positively vicious, for they scarcely touch on the processes of observation and induction of cause and effect by which our real as against our verbal knowledge is gained. Many a lesser and younger man laments with Darwin: "Nothing could have been worse for the development of my mind than Dr. Butler's school, as it was strictly classical, nothing else being taught except a little ancient geography and history. The school, as a means of education to me, was simply a blank." (Darwin's *Life and Letters*, I. p. 29. See also pp. 353 and 354.) "During the three years which I spent at Cambridge my time was wasted, as far as academical studies were concerned, as completely as at Edinburgh and at school." (Ibid, p. 40.) Contrast this with his experience where he had some valuable knowledge to learn. "I have always felt that I owe to the voyage (of the *Beagle*) the first real training or education of my mind. I was led to attend closely to several branches of natural history, and thus my powers of observation were improved. * * * I discovered, though unconsciously and insensibly, that the pleasure of observing and reasoning was a much higher one than that of skill and sport." (Ibid, pp. 51 and 53.) The qualities of mind to which he modestly attributes his success are a most touching and suggestive commentary on our educational methods. "The most important have been, the love of science, unbounded patience in long reflecting over any subject, industry in observing and collecting facts, and a fair share of invention as well as of common sense." (Ibid, pp. 85 and 86.)

But the fetish of discipline also extends to too many subjects of real value in themselves, and the student coming to Physics, Astronomy, Zoology or Economics, e. g., with anticipation of profit and pleasure, is too often here repulsed into antagonism by the disciplinary form in which such knowledge is given. How vividly I recall again my anticipations as a senior in learning something of the wonderful workings of our own minds. But on being forced to learn a lot of abstract definitions, to stumble through the Latin topography of a disreputable brain model, to perform algebraical juggles with "intellect," "sensi-

bility" and "will" to produce the "Ego," with the final harrowing of our souls by a tricky examination on such nonsense—this was enough to turn one's anticipations into bitterness against the subject as well as its teacher. But when with other teachers I found an inexhaustible store of most fascinating and companionable facts and inferences of our mental life, I naturally felt not merely contempt for the former teacher, whose superficial knowledge was coached up daily for each "recitation" by a medical school physiologist, but a righteous indignation at such an imposition on culture. Also in Greek we were disciplined with the deduction process of pigeon-holing the kaleidoscopic stream of words into their proper compartments in Hadley's Grammar and in laboriously acquiring through the Lexicon a new set of visual symbols for our perceptions and ideas. So that even the few great plays and little Plato we did read amidst the mass of commonplace stuff was not for the great ideas and poetry. And, later, on giving up the pretense of using a set of symbols whose difficulties prevented our getting beyond the mere words, I found in English translations of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and in Jowett's Plato a world of beauty and greatness which either had been conscientiously hidden from us, or which—as I much more suspect—most of the Greek teachers themselves had never known.

The important subject of astronomy was our most hated enemy, for a sour face and gruff voice welcomed us with, "Get out your logarithm tables!" With groans we reached under the seats for those blue-colored horrors (they haunt me still through the fifteen intervening years), and under watchdog guard we struggled to plot the eccentric paths of comets. This was a much more disciplinary ordeal than our out-of-class-room plots which we copied or bought from the one man in the class who could really work them. As for getting any idea of the vastness and wonders of descriptive astronomy—so essential to the heliocentric modesty of the scientific standpoint—or any demonstration of the apparatus and methods used, or any encouragement to look up from the logarithm books to the marvelous stars above,—that was considered as yielding to original sin. That might do for boarding-school girls, but for college men it was too interesting and easy.

Now, when one studies psychologically the problems of pleasure and pain—the feeling element of our mental make-up and the basis of our so-called "will"—one finds quite enough evidence for the important function of self-denial, i. e., a necessary endurance of pain for future happiness. No one realizes this important and inexorable law more than the utilitarian in ethics. Read the autobiography of Mill himself, the letters of George Eliot, Darwin and Tennyson for heroic examples. But

as all persons with any decent home life will get some experience in self-denial, instead of emphasizing it as the main principle of our higher education, ought we not rather to cultivate the complementary principle of present happiness for future happiness? It is the contrast of motives of pain versus motives of pleasure. Not merely German scholarship and English culture are made by leading and not driving, but if we want such scholarship and culture engrafted on our generous and energetic American nature we must outgrow this American school-boy heritage of Puritanical asceticism and militant force. Where experience finds that a lack of foresight for one's better happiness is positively dangerous to all concerned, as in small children and in criminals, there we are forced to use motives of pain. But let us fashion our higher educational systems less for the exclusive benefit of these weak classes and more for the stronger characters who really want more knowledge to guide their foresight for the greatest happiness of all concerned and in whom the inevitable fatigue and self-denials are more than compensated by their daily springs of happiness. At the end of such culture days one's deepest heart modestly exclaims:

"Verweile doch, du bist so schön!
Es kann die Spur von meinen Erdentagen
Nicht in Aonen untergehn.—
Im vorgefühl von solchem hohen Glück
Genies ich jetzt den höchsten Augenblick."

Summary: The prevalent attitude of antagonism or even enmity between the American undergraduate and most of his teachers is due chiefly, (1) to the continued presence among the required studies of so many subjects of comparatively small or trivial value, and (2) to the continued teaching of these for their fallaciously supposed value for the mind and heart as discipline, and (3) to the extension of disciplinary methods to more worthy kinds of knowledge. Were these causes removed by the better education of the teachers and the introduction of more German university freedom, this deplorable antagonism would cease.

Harlow Gale.

(Reprinted from the Minnesota Magazine.)

❁ SOCIALISM ABROAD ❁

AUSTRIA.

The elections in Austria are now practically over with, and it is possible to give most of the results. But in order to in any way appreciate the facts, some knowledge is necessary of the difficulties under which the socialists have struggled. In the first place there is a scheme of election embracing first and second ballots and secondary electors that is so complicated that all explanations that we have been able to find have only made it more unintelligible. This system was purposely so planned in order that its complications might be used to defeat the socialists. Then all the power of private and governmental intimidation was set in motion to influence those who might be lucky enough to get a chance to express their opinions. In one election district in Galicia the election was only announced late in the evening before it took place, and only eight voters appeared to elect the four members from that constituency. In another case a crier was sent through the village, and when the people assembled only those favorable to the government were permitted to register, and a socialist who protested against this procedure was promptly arrested. The most outrageous gerrymandering of districts was resorted to. Schnodika, in Galicia, with a population of 6,000 and entitled to twelve representatives, being found to be strongly socialist, the prefect declared that the population was only 1,500, and hence entitled to but three representatives. Then it must always be remembered that Austria is simply a geographical expression for a certain extent of territory, with no homogeneity of language or race. This fact has been taken advantage of to exploit race hatred to an extent unknown elsewhere on earth. Under all these conditions the socialists were prepared for defeat, and were more than satisfied when they made substantial gains. In Bohemia they suffered their worst check, losing several seats. This was because the appeal to nationalities found more dupes here than elsewhere. In Cracow, Dazynski was returned by a vote of 13,153, out of 22,103 votes cast. In Lemberg, Ernest Breiter, Socialist, received 14,057 out of 23,338. "In Vienna," says the correspondent of the London Times, "notwithstanding the doctoring of the electoral lists to the advantage of the Christian Socialists, that faction received an irretrievable reverse." It should be said that this "Christian Socialist" party is what we in America would call a

"fake" party to mislead the Social Democrats. Nevertheless, the socialist vote in Vienna was raised from 88,00 to 95,000, and while Adler was defeated for a seat in Vienna, he was elected from Brunn. We shall try to secure tabulated figures of the vote and representation for our next number.

The Austrian government has been so frightened by the growth of socialism that the ministry has proposed the nationalization of the mines and the coal trade as a means of fighting it.

The Vienna Arbeiter Zeitung has just published a remarkable general order recently issued by the imperial minister of war concerning the treatment of soldiers suspected of being socialists. It provides stringent punishment for any attempt at circulating revolutionary literature, and urges the making of frequent searches of the premises and effects of officers or privates who have been known to have any connection with revolutionary bodies. Meantime bread riots are prevailing in the textile districts of Hungary, and the troops have been called out to shoot down the people who are marching the streets crying "Give us work or give us food." Several persons have already been killed and wounded in these riots, and their number and extent are constantly growing.

* * *

ITALY.

The following interesting little incident somehow escaped the notice of American capitalist newspapers, although their correspondents had no difficulty in finding out every time the Prince of Wales sneezed. In the city of Genoa there is a laborers' hall, with which is connected a judicial tribunal for the adjustment of difficulties between laborers and capitalists. Lately speeches were being made there by the socialists that were decidedly displeasing to the governing powers, and the mayor, Garronni, summarily disbanded the laborers' organization and abolished the court of arbitration. The following is taken from the account of the resulting events as given by the Genoa Arbeiter Zeitung: The hard and unjust order of the Prefect Garronni first became known at noon of the 17th of December; by evening the great harbor was deserted. By the evening of the 18th the number of strikers had reached 10,000, and 200 coal ships lay deserted in the harbor unable to receive a cargo. Telegrams were sent to Port Said and Messina to notify the Indian steamers not to stop at Genoa, but to land at Marseilles instead. The Board of Trade immediately began to recognize the far-reaching significance of the strike and to calculate their losses: The first day cost them a million francs; the second, two million; the third, four; and the fourth, seven million.

As soon as opportunity offered the government sent in great bodies of soldiers, and ordered the man-of-war "St. Bon" into the harbor, and immediately a large number of laborers throughout the building trades laid down their tools, and finally the street car workers joined, raising the number of strikers to 17,000. Then the weather came to

the assistance of the laborers. The thermometer began to fall, and millions of francs' worth of choice wine on the docks and in the ships was threatened with destruction. Telegrams began to pour in upon the government from the wine merchants all over Europe demanding that the strike be ended. The government was compelled to act, and finally removed Garronni from office. The disbanded organizations were reorganized with practically the same membership, and the strike was declared off as a complete victory for the laborers.

* * *

GERMANY.

In our last issue we referred to the speech of Auer in regard to the letter sent by Graf Posadowsky, of the imperial cabinet, to Herr Bueck, a wealthy manufacturer, demanding 12,000 marks to assist in pushing the "Penitentiary Bill" through the Reichstag. The socialists have made such an exposure of this and other similar acts that Posadowsky has at last been driven into retirement—not, as the Vorwaerts explains, because he was corrupt, but because he was so unfortunate as to be unsuccessful in his corruption and to meet with exposure, and, worst crime of all, because he did not succeed in passing the bill for which he was paid.

At the elections which have just taken place for the Parliament or Landtag of Wurtemberg 300,000 electors voted. The Reactionaries obtained 95,000 votes; the Anti-Catholics, 72,000; the Democrats, 71,000, and the Socialists, 60,000. The Socialist vote has nearly doubled itself since 1895, while the Democrats have lost 20,000 votes. Two Socialists have been returned to the Landtag, while ten have a place in the second ballot.

German Socialists have been very successful in the municipal elections this year. All the Socialist candidates were elected at Reichenheim, in Saxony, while others were returned at Marienthal, Altenhain, Hohenkirchen, Schedewitz, Rotschau and Leisnig—all in Saxony. News of a Socialist victory comes also from Jonitz, in Anhalt.

* * *

BELGIUM.

The socialist municipality of Liege has appropriated 1,500 francs to be distributed among the various unions for the benefit of their unemployed members. In Ghent the socialists are establishing a special municipal fund for the same purpose, which will result in a yearly annuity of 60,000 francs, which will be divided among the unions in proportion to the number of members already receiving out-of-work benefits from the union itself. The municipal council of Naast has begun the feeding of the school children, and that of Schaerbeek has prosecuted a number of contractors who violated the minimum wage law recently enacted by the socialist council of that city.

The Clericals of Brussels are just seeking, through a law which

has been nullified for twenty-five years to secure control of the communal schools. Against this the socialists are making a strong fight. The socialist women especially are holding large gatherings, and the agitation is serving to introduce them to the movement for universal suffrage, regardless of sex. Madame Gatti de Gamond has been exceptionally active in this work, and was recently arrested by the police for distributing circulars against the clerical influence in the schools.

* * *

FRANCE

Word now comes from France that all the terms of unity between the different socialist parties have been arranged save as to the manner of organization in the Department of the Seine, and this is being discussed with every probability of an amicable settlement being reached. It is hoped that this statement will once for all settle the falsehood which has been industriously circulated in this country, that the Parti Ouvrier ever contemplated entering into a "new international" with the DeLeonites.

Vaillaint brought forward a motion in the French Chamber last week asking for full powers of self-government to be given to the City of Paris. Many important unanimous resolutions passed by the municipal council have repeatedly been annulled by the government officials. Vaillaint's resolution was lost, not because of its tenor, but because he coupled it with a vote of censure on the government. The terms of his resolution were brought forward afterwards by another deputy, with the omission of the clause of censure, when it was passed by 360 to 153 votes, the premier himself declaring in its favor.

* * *

DENMARK.

A recently published report shows that of 100,300 male laborers 76,800 are organized in unions and, in some sections, as many as 95 per cent and 96 per cent are organized. In the larger cities and towns the intellectual as well as the manual laborers are organized.

The Socialists in the Folkething have introduced a proposition for a hospital for consumptives, providing for an appropriation of 40,000 kr. to expend in the preparation of plans for the erection of the same. Con Klausen showed that of the 6,000 deaths from consumption, in Denmark, each year 5,000 were among the laboring class, who could not afford to pay the charges necessary to receive accommodations in existing sanitariums.

The recent municipal elections have been a magnificent triumph for the socialists. The number of socialist municipal councillors has been raised from 30 elected in 1894 to 170, and nearly every large city is now in the hands of the socialists.

The socialist members of parliament are pushing a bill providing for old age pensions. The Social Demokrat, of Copenhagen, has recently been enlarged from fourteen to sixteen pages, and now has the largest circulation of any paper in Denmark.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

There never visited this country a British trade unionist and labor agitator who became such a universal favorite as Pete Curran, one of the fraternal delegates to the A. F. of L. convention. Curran, who is an intellectual and yet modest and sociable chap, made a brief tour of the country after the Louisville meeting, speaking in the principal cities in the interest of the Social Democratic party, and with the exception of one or two places had good audiences everywhere and added to his host of friends. His advice to American trade unionists was timely and is causing much comment among organized men and women and even thinking outsiders. "You can never solve the social problem by strikes," Curran told our people everywhere. "That is my opinion after twenty years' experience in the labor movement. After spending more money in England during the last twenty-five years on the industrial battle-field than would keep 700 men legislating in our interests in the House of Parliament, we have come to the conclusion that we must have something to say about the making of the laws under which we have to work, and we must get away from the old orthodox political parties if we hope to secure what we seek. The only possibility of our securing labor legislation is by sending our own men into the governing bodies, not as our masters, but as our servants. There is only one solution of the labor problem, and that is the democratization of industry, the common ownership of the means of production, for as long as we allow the land and the machinery of the country to be held as private monopolies by the few, so long will we have industrial disputes and upheavals." Curran assured the writer that all the active young men in the British trade union movement are Socialists, and that if the English workers enjoyed the franchise as freely as do their American brothers, the former would roll up two million votes for Socialism without a doubt. At the coming Parliamentary election the trade unionists of the other side will undoubtedly cut a respectable figure in increasing the Socialist vote.

The big strikes of building craftsmen in Chicago and molders in Cleveland are dragging along their weary way. The Chicago Building Trades Council issued a statement showing that before the lock-out a year ago 20,000 members were affiliated with that body, of which number 14,680 still remain. Six crafts withdrew, leaving

twenty-five still in the Council. The Cleveland molders won a point, when the Bowler Co., one of the largest concerns in the bosses' association, withdrew and signed the scale, after having lost \$20,000. All the other foundries look like small forts, and it is hardly probable that any decisive change will occur before another six months.—East Side bakers in New York are on strike for more wages, shorter hours and better sanitary conditons. Several large concerns yielded. Bosses organized an opposition "union," which they industriously nursed, when one day Joseph Barondess and other bona fide union agitators secured the floor, and, after delivering speeches burning with eloquence, the 600 pets of the bosses formed in line and marched to union headquarters and joined the organization.

Cigarmakers are disturbed at the action of the American Tobacco Co., the trust, in entering the cigar business. The combine has secured control of several factories and incorporated a \$10,000,000 offspring, and it is stated that strong inroads will be made on the trade through wholesale houses and distributors that it controls. The trust also controls much of the raw material and the latest labor-saving appliances, while the capital behind it is reported as being Rockefeller's pile. The American company's treatment of the tobacco workers is too well known to need elaboration, as it never hesitates to smash unionism wherever it appears, and at present desperate struggles are being waged in Louisville, St. Louis and New York state, while it has raised prices 116 per cent, absorbed the big factories and driven out the jobbers by the score. The trust will have nothing to do with the blue label of the organized cigarmakers, and far-seeing craftsmen fear trouble. The union is in good condition, however, and will never yield to the dictation of the trust.

National Secretary Butscher, of the Social Democratic party, has issued over forty charters to locals in as many cities and towns during the last two months.—The total vote of the S. D. P. has reached nearly a hundred thousand. The old Socialist Labor party polled 34,000, a loss of 52,000 in two years.—Rev. Vail has been nominated for governor by the S. D. P. in New Jersey and is stumping that state, and Job Harriman is on a speaking tour through New York state.—Chicago N. E. B. held convention in latter city last month, and the Socialists in favor of complete organic union are now voting on the question of holding national convention at some central point within a few months, many independent and unattached bodies favoring the step.

Sixteen large boot and shoe manufacturing concerns are forming a trust, having been forced to combine by the leather, shoe machinery and other trusts. It is the plan to establish stores in the leading cities and to sell to the trade direct, thus abolishing middlemen and absorbing their profits.

Steel pool has been organized and thousands of commission men are to be let out.—Railway consolidations, it is estimated, will do away so thoroughly with competition and centralize work that 25,000 agents and employes of various kinds will be discharged.—Preliminary steps are being taken to consolidate four or five of the large iron and steel trusts, and in Eastern financial circles it is declared that in the near future there will be a close combination of the railways, hard and soft coal, coke and certain iron and steel companies, with a few steamship lines thrown in to add power and strength to the gigantic "community of interests." The comrades who are thus splendidly organizing industry do not wear red buttons.

Add following new Socialist publications to the long and growing list: The Missouri Socialist, St. Louis, Mo.; Wage-Worker, Detroit, Mich.; Social Democrat, Williamsport, Pa.; The Challenge, Los Angeles, Cal.; Propaganda, Central City, Colo.; Industrial Democracy, Colorado Springs, Colo.; Southern Socialist, Blum, Tex.

Factory inspectors of Illinois, New York, Massachusetts, Ohio and other states are issuing their annual reports, and in not one of them does it appear that woman and child labor is decreasing. On the contrary, the increase in every state is marked. Neither are any remedies advanced to solve this grave problem. The criminal, pauper and insanity statistics, also showing increasing tendencies, reflect the situation correctly.

Glass trust and the independent concerns came to an agreement and shoved up prices 30 per cent.—Fruit and vegetable growers in Florida and Cuba are combining.

Laborers in the mills in the Mahoning and Shenango valleys, to the number of 5,000, had a New Year's present stuffed in their "full dinner pails" in the shape of a reduction in wages from \$1.90 to \$1.65 a day. Now they are talking strike, but not at the polls. National steel trust also handed its employes a Christmas present, 10 per cent cut. Iron workers are in a sadly demoralized condition.

Nothing much has come of the ice trust scandal in New York except to give the Supreme Court of that state an opportunity to hand down a decision that practically annuls the anti-trust law.—Another decision of the same court knocks out the law compelling contractors to have stone for public buildings cut in the state, which law was passed at the request of granite cutters and other craftsmen, and the latter decision was probably made to please the Standard Oil interests, which are said to be absorbing the quarries of New England. The "labor laws" fare poorly when they come in contact with the stone wall of the "communism of capital."

Street railway strikes in Reading and Scranton resulted in satisfactory compromises in which the workers received important concessions. The national union is enjoying healthy growth.

National Building Trades Council held largest convention in its history in Cincinnati last month. Some bitter criticisms were aimed at the A. F. of L. for the latter body's practical repudiation of "trade autonomy" and apparent attempt to absorb the building unions and combine them as a trade section, but cooler counsel seemingly prevailed and the threatened war was averted.

Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, a splendid edifice, was destroyed by fire recently and the unionists' interests sustained a heavy loss. An attempt will be made to rebuild it, and to that end every union in the country will be asked to donate one dollar. It's a worthy cause.

Textile workers are dumping "trade autonomy" overboard, having suffered enough defeats. Representatives from mule spinners, loom fixers, carders and pickers, weavers and clash tenders held convention in Washington and organized the American Federation of Textile Operatives. Other branches of the industry will also join the new amalgamation.

Along in May the metal trades, headed by the machinists, are going to ask for the nine-hour workday with the same pay they now receive for ten hours. The bosses demur and in some cases demand that the men accept a reduction, and there is liable to be trouble before the matter is settled.

Printers are negotiating with National Newspaper Publishers' Association to establish joint arbitration and conciliation board.

Robert Rives La Monte, the well-known young author and lecturer, has gone to New Zealand to study the conditions of the laboring people in that much-talked-about little country.

Reports come from "our" new possessions to the effect that the building trades in Honolulu are winning the eight-hour day, and that several more labor agitators and organizers in Porto Rico have succeeded in getting out of jail. In the Philippines our new fellow-citizens are still on strike in the cigar industry, while some continue to strike against Uncle Sam, thus making work for American laborers who manufacture guns, bullets, beer, whisky, etc.

Miners held their national convention, showed up stronger than ever numerically and financially, re-elected old officers, and are now negotiating with operators for adoption of new scale.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

Professor George D. Herron

I.

*There is a common root and identity between the philosophy of socialism and the philosophy of Jesus. Whether it knows it or not, the socialist movement is preparing the material for the realization of the love-life of the world. The socialistic stage of development is a necessary training of men in mutuality of responsibility and service. Socialism is the body in which the soul of love must learn to express and liberate itself; and the kingdom of heaven can no more pass by the co-operative commonwealth than the spirit of man can dispense with his physical body while fulfilling the functions of earth-life and labor. Putting it on no other grounds, socialism is a spiritual necessity to the race; through no other than the socialistic experience can the race come to its true self-consciousness, and blossom in the fullness and glory of its power and liberty. Men must learn how to live together; how to work together for a common good; how to combine for free and creative ends, and not under the mere stress of defense. Man's discovery of power, and of how to use it in making the kind of a world he wants, can never far outrun the development of his co-operative or spiritual sense. Power is co-operation; love is co-operation; spirituality is co-operation. It is only through the socialistic experience of the world that this co-operative or spiritual sense, this mind or will to love, can come to its realization; it is only from the association and unity of all men and interests that the free individual can at last emerge. And it is for this reason that some of us are socialists; not because socialism is our goal, but because we see in socialism a conservative and constructive preparation of the way of the Lord of love; we are socialists en route to the liberty which love brings.

II.

Even the class struggle, at which so many ignorantly take offense,

* Taken from one of Mr. Herron's Central Music Hall lectures.

is at bottom a love-struggle. The class-consciousness of the socialist movement is a profoundly spiritual revelation, a most significantly Christian experience. The conscious solidarity of the working class is an indispensable prelude to the ultimate solidarity of the world. For socialism to give up its class-conscious philosophy would be for it to sell itself out—to sell out not only all that makes socialism potent and possible, but to sell out as well that experience which alone can train labor for the leadership of the will to love, and prepare society for the kingdom of heaven. Those who object to the class-conscious appeal on the ground that it is divisive and anti-Christian would do well to read their New Testaments with open eyes; for no such alignment of class against class, no such intensive class-conscious appeal, has ever been made as that of Jesus. There is no such class-conscious movement in history as that which Jesus initiated. First and last and all the time the disciples and friends of his idea were told to stand together: to be true to one another with a love that would never be beaten and a loyalty that would never fail. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another, even as I have loved you. By this shall all men know that ye are socialists. If ye stand together as workers, true to one another with a comradeship that cannot fail or betray, asking not your freedom from any masters, but finding freedom in your own unity of interest and faith and devotion. Do you not see that the call of socialism to workingmen to unite is but the modernized and economized appeal of Jesus to his disciples to love one another? Do you not see that the class-conscious command of the socialist is identical with the class-conscious command and experience of the early communities or brotherhoods of the sweet and brave Christian springtime? You will find how radical is the identity, if you go deep enough into the class-conscious philosophy, and then read the burning and divisive commands and warnings of Jesus and his apostles in the light of that philosophy.

III.

But there is a philosophical analogy that goes deeper into the human fact than the mere identity of appeal. Jesus distinctly regarded the wealthy and priestly and governing orders as belonging to a robber class: the horrible fact that these gained their luxury and power through oppressing and exploiting both the labor and the souls of the poor was always before him and sometimes loaded his words

with terrible denunciations. His intensely class-conscious feeling was profoundly scientific; it was not a mere sentiment of justice, but a plain and clear-sighted recognition of the fact that one class of people was living off another class; that the small class which did the living and the robbing ruled the large class which did the producing without living; that the class which really had no faith and obeyed no law gave religion and made laws for the class which was always insurgent with faith and yet submissive to every law which injustice could enact. He saw that it was impossible to rationalize or spiritualize a world-order that was a huge and hideous parasitism; so his friends and disciples were told to stand together as a class until they should increase unto the power to overcome the world for the kingdom of heaven. His class-conscious attitude and command was precisely that of the modern socialist, however different his outlook and philosophy in other things. The early Christians were bidden never to forget that they were the poor, the disinherited and the despised; that they were the oppressed, the enslaved and the outcast; that they would be hated of all men and persecuted and slain by all institutions, as the cost of their daring to be men in the image of God. Against the rich and the powerful, the capitalized and governing class, the vested interests of institutions, they were to stand together as one man, and stand as against the destroyers of the world, the despoilers and slayers of souls and bodies. Only by the power and joy of their class-conscious unity could they truly love one another and form a common defense against treason and lovelessness.

IV.

I am not forgetting that the socialist rather ostentatiously insists that his working motive is his own personal good; and I am sometimes reminded of the cant phrases of professional pietism by the way in which the socialist thrusts this personal good of his into the foreground. He makes so much of it that he gets to be an inverted pietist, just as a friend of mine so insists on his democracy that he has become a sort of inverted and flagrant snob. But—so full of strange things is our world—the socialist who insists on the motive of his own personal good, will give up his work, suffer starvation, and make every conceivable sacrifice in order to be true to his comrades and his cause, while we Christians who pivot our religion on the idea of self-sacrifice will often not make the slightest real sacrifice of self for our Christ or the common good. I am afraid that the

personal good of the socialist is more significantly Christian than the self-sacrifice of those of us who call ourselves Christians.

V.

But, after all, this is a question of words. Most of our discussions about the antithesis between self-sacrifice and self-interest are idle definitions. In the end it is every man's personal good to sacrifice himself for a common good. The highest self-interest of the individual, his real joy and liberty, lie in pouring himself out in the service of his brothers; in throwing himself away for them, if need be. And so every man's true self-sacrifice lies in presenting the richest and noblest possible individuality to the world. True self-sacrifice and true self-interest are merely different names for the same principles of being—different names for self-realization, for wholeness and freedom of life. On the whole, our attitude toward ourselves and our brothers is about the same. We not only must love our neighbors as ourselves; that is about what we generally do, whether we know it or not. If we try to live the life of free sons of God ourselves, we shall have most sensitive and sacred regard for the free individuality and divine worth of others. If we truly love our neighbors, we will nobly love ourselves for their sakes, and for their sakes make our lives whole; and if we truly love ourselves, we will seek to awaken in our brothers the strongest and loveliest selfhood. A cross-section of our feeling, our thinking and doing, taken anywhere and at any time, will reveal about the same quality of love and life in relation to self and to others. Neighbor-love and self-love will always register the same quality in the spiritual thermometer. Love is the true and final equilibriumizer.





BOOK REVIEWS



Socialism and Modern Science. Enrico Ferri. Translated by Robt. Rives LaMonte. Cloth, 213 pp., \$1.00.

Since the translation of Marx' Capital there has been no greater contribution to the socialist movement of the English speaking world than is afforded by this work. Under the title "Socialisme et Science Positive" it had already become one of the classics of the French, Belgian and Italian movement.

Beginning with an extract from an address of Prof. Ernest Haeckel, who attempted to show that Darwinism was hostile to the socialist philosophy, Prof. Ferri takes up one by one the various phases of the subject, and demonstrates that not only are the premises of socialism in perfect accord with the doctrines of evolution, but that Darwinism, biology and socialism in the science of society are but expressions of the same thought principles in different fields. Taking up the various alleged contradictions between Darwinism and socialism, he shows that "the equality of individuals" proposed by socialism is only one of equality of opportunity, and that "socialism does not deny inequality; it merely wishes to utilize this inequality as one of the factors leading to the free, prolific and many-sided development of human life." The "struggle for life," is discussed and he shows that when the means of existence are assured to all the members of society the principle of social solidarity will be increased and the struggle will no longer be between the members of that society. "The survival of the fittest" is shown to mean the elimination of such social abnormalities as are represented by the present capitalist class, and hence this law is a natural corollary socialist philosophy.

But it is in the positive and constructive side of the work that its greatest contribution to socialist philosophy is made. The chapters on "Socialism as a Consequence of Darwinism" and "Evolution and Socialism" constitute the most logical exposition of the fundamentals of socialism to be found in the English language. It is difficult to see how they can be read by anyone with reasoning power and not convince him of the truth of socialism. The book is a perfect arsenal of ideas for socialist writers and speakers, and must form a part of the equipment of every well-armed socialist.

Fruitfulness. Emile Zola. Translated by Ernest Alfred Vizetelly. Doubleday, Page & Co. Cloth, 468 pp., \$2.00.

In this latest work of the great French writer, the population question, that is now such a burning one in France, is taken up and handled without gloves. Indeed, it is handled so openly and frankly in the original French that the translator has found himself compelled to cut out large portions of the original. At first sight it seems as if he had done more of this than was required, even by the ridiculous prudery which reigns in Anglo-Saxon countries. But we understand that a translation of an earlier work of Zola's caused him to suffer arrest and imprisonment, and hence he cannot be blamed for being over-careful. But in spite of the censor, an extremely powerful novel remains, which in its dramatic strength almost reminds one of Hugo's in some places. At the same time it is a sociological treatise, which no one who wishes a thorough grasp of the population question can afford to neglect. The central theme of the book is the story of the conquest of a fruitful earth by a fruitful race. There is much of the idyllic about it and much that is almost ridiculously impossible under present conditions, but there is every now and then a hint that the author realizes this fact, and as his next work is announced upon the subject of "Labor," it is probable that this phase will be there treated.

The Real Chinese Question. Chester Holcombe. Dodd, Mead & Co. Cloth, 386 pp., \$1.50.

We have not the slightest hesitation in saying that this is by far the best work yet published for the general reader upon the situation in China. The author was for many years Interpreter, Secretary of Legation and acting Minister of the United States at Peking, and hence speaks with the authority of knowledge. He is the first of the English speaking writers that seem to have been inspired with any desire to tell the truth regarding the Chinese. His discussion of native characteristics and customs throws a flood of light on a much beclouded subject. He points out how the *litterati* with the system of promotion by examination make possible an extremely rapid transformation of every portion of the Chinese Empire once that it is decided by those in power to introduce capitalism. But it is in his discussion of the relations of China with the outside world that the most valuable portion of the book is found. He notes that the Chinese "have never understood nor admitted that the main purpose for which governments were created was to foster commerce and money making." The story of the invasion of China by the capitalist barbarians of the nineteenth century is one that may well rival the similar invasions of Europe by the Huns and Vandals. This work points out how treaties have been interpolated, harbors bombarded in time of peace, gambling dens established on Chinese soil against the will of the government, outrageous foreign

"claims" collected by force, her high officials grossly insulted by capitalist representatives, territory extorted from her by all manner of deceit and force, and finally how the horrors of the opium traffic were forced upon her at the muzzles of cannon in spite of the most thorough and determined efforts to save her people from this awful scourge. "The recital reminds one rather of the practices of a card-sharper and his confederates, than of the broad-minded statesmanship which deserves respect and honor. . . . Here are to be seen the Great Powers of the earth squabbling among themselves for influence and prestige with China, then, by turns, choking her, holding a revolver at her head or a knife to her heart, and lecturing her upon the inestimable benefits to be derived from western civilization, and all the time wondering why China hates the foreigner so bitterly, and why it is so increasingly difficult to make any money out of her."

Light on the Deep, A Tale of Today, by George Henry Grafton. The Neale Co., Washington, D. C. Paper, 128 pp., 25 cents.

A very clever little satire on present conditions that will carry the gospel of discontent into many places where a more pretentious work would not find entrance.

The Fall and the Restoration, by Imogene C. Fales. Peter Davidson, Loudsville, Ga. Paper, 55 pp., 30 cents.

In a most excellent literary style the story of man's evolution is traced in graphic outline from geologic times down to the present and the inevitableness of the co-operative commonwealth as a result of this evolution is pointed out. The author deals much in symbolic and mystical thought, and the work is a queer but interesting and suggestive combination of materials and mysticism.

The Story of Nineteenth Century and Modern Science. Henry Smith Williams. Harper & Brothers. Cloth, 475 pp., \$2.50.

The nineteenth century has been pre-eminently the century of material achievements, and there have been many attempts to tell its story, and this book is certainly one of the best, if not the best, of these. It is technical enough to be exact, but not too technical to be easily understood by the ordinary reader. The work opens with a review of "Science at the Beginning of the Century," then a chapter is given to the century's progress in each field of knowledge, and the final chapter is devoted to "Some Unsolved Scientific Problems." It is wonderful story of advance from the time when scientists were discussing "phlogiston," "imponderables" and "fluid forces" to the day of the X-ray and experimental psychology. It forms an inexhaustible storehouse of knowledge to those who wish to trace the progress of the increase of knowledge. It is impossible in a review of such a work to give any summary of its contents, for it is already condensed almost to the limit. Perhaps the most interesting chapter of all is the

one on "The Century's Progress in Experimental Psychology," because this really seems to be coming closer to some of the great mysteries of nature, but all are interesting and all are valuable.

The Inalienable Rights of Man. J. R. Rogers, Governor of Washington. Printed by the author. Paper, 35 pp.

Starting from the eighteenth century philosophy of "inalienable rights," it is shown that private ownership of land is incompatible with that philosophy, as worked out by the founders of this government. The author, like thousands—and, indeed, some millions of others, as the last campaign would seem to show—does not appear to realize that philosophies do not make history, and that private property in land (and capital, as well) will not be abolished because of conflict with the philosophy of either Rousseau or Jefferson, but because it is in conflict with economic progress.

Shattered Idols. "A Lawyer." Schulte Publishing Co. Cloth, 82 pp.

This author would trace all the ills to which our present society is due to Judge Marshall's "doctrine of implied powers," and in so doing is apparently all unconscious that instead of tracing a line of legal interpretation he is really tracing a line of economic evolution. But he does his work well, and brings to light much that is valuable to the student of American social history, and has produced a little work that is well worth the reading of those who are interested in seeing how capitalism has intrenched itself in the legal machinery of this country.

Beyond the Black Ocean. Rev. T. McGrady. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 304 pp., \$1.00; paper, 50 cents.

Both by reason of its author, who is the pastor of the Roman Catholic Church at Bellevue, Ky., and because of the character of the book itself this is one of the most significant socialist publications of the year. The story has a plot of considerable strength and great interest, and there are many passages that are bound to be widely quoted as gems of socialist thought. There is also a vein of humor running through it that makes it quite distinctive from the majority of so-called socialist romances.

Solaris Farm; A Story of the Twentieth Century. Milan C. Edson. Published by the author at 1728 N. Jersey avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. Paper, 747 pp.

Of writing Utopias there is no end and never can be while imagination continues to be easier to exercise than investigation. So far as the utopian character of this book is concerned, it contains some things that are of value on the land question. There is a great amount of speculation, much of which is extremely interesting and

suggestive on advanced methods of agriculture. So far as the story is concerned, it is but a framework on which to hang the philosophy, save that there are a few well-wrought-out incidents. Whether the suggestions as to the means of securing the utopia described are to be taken seriously or not we do not know, but if they are so intended it argues a grievous ignorance of social laws and development on the part of the writer.

Books received too late for review in this issue:

The Philippines, the War and the People. Albert G. Robinson. McClure, Philips & Co. Cloth, 405 pp.

The Trust Problem. Jeremiah W. Jenks. McClure, Philips & Co. Cloth, 279 pp., \$1.00.

The Communist Manifesto. Marx & Engels. New edition issued by the International Publishing Co., San Francisco. Paper, 48 pp., 10 cents.

The Awakening of the East. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. McClure, Philips & Co. Cloth, 298 pp., \$1.50.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

The World's Work for January is a perfect store-house of information for the student of modern capitalism. "Great Tasks and the New Century," by J. D. Whelpley and R. R. Wilson is an exhaustive and interesting summary of the work which must be done to open up the highways of commerce demanded by the larger world life of today. and its reading will satisfy anyone that there is ample scope for all the capital that will be exploited from the workers for some years to come. "Among the World's Workers" tells of the greatly increasing foreign trade of America, the opening of new methods of transportation, the relation of America to the Oriental trade and the development of the "New South."

The International Monthly has an extremely valuable article on "England at the Close of the Nineteenth Century," by Emil Reinsch. It is largely based upon what has been called the "physiographic conception of society," which finds an explanation of social phenomena in geographic and climatic conditions and hence is in accord with, and supplementary to the "economic interpretation of history," upon which the philosophy of socialism is based.



EDITORIAL



FINANCIAL NOTES

The American public has become accustomed to sudden and gigantic combinations of capital, but the events of the last month have been of such a character as to attract widespread attention even in the home of the trust. As socialists have been freely predicting, no sooner were the small firms competed out of existence than steps were taken to solidify all industry across trade lines. Capital today seeks only profits, is purely impersonal and cosmopolitan and knows no trade nor national lines. So it has come about that by a mere shifting of stock, more far-reaching and significant consolidations of industry has been brought about during the past month than in any previous year. We are now advancing with mighty strides toward a time not far away when one enormous syndicate shall control the entire American industrial situation. Indeed we are not far from that point today as it is doubtful if any great industrial change could be brought about without the consent of the Morgan, Vanderbilt, Rockefeller clique of closely united financiers.

The center around which this "trust of trusts" is crystallizing is the great railroad combine. Taken as a whole this is by far the mightiest aggregation of capital this planet has ever known. Indeed no other time nor place could have furnished the necessary conditions for its appearance. The mileage that is already definitely included within this single combination exceeds 76,000, or more than the total railway mileage of any other nation. But this is but a small portion of the total possessions of this syndicate. These roads embrace all those systems that control the anthracite coal situation and the ownership of the mines is vested in these carrying systems. It will be possible for a traveler to start at Southampton and travel across the Atlantic to New York, cross the continent to Portland, Oregon, and taking passage on a 22,000-ton steamer land in Yokohama without ever leaving the property of this gigantic combination of capital. The financial review in the Chicago Record (one of the most conservative papers in the country), for Dec. 31st, says of this consolidation:

"The interlacing of dominant financial interests throughout the railway network goes far to insure such community of policy and such

a uniformity of practice as was never before deemed possible. The several units of the railway organism will maintain their identity as now, but the executive voice of each will be heard in the affairs of the rest, and the interests of each will be assimilated with the interests of all to a degree hitherto thought too utopian for this world. There will remain Vanderbilt, Gould, Harriman and Hill chains and systems, but a common executive genius will henceforward assist in directing them for the good of each and for the good of all.

"The manipulation of the many varied factors whereby this far-reaching design has been furthered has been of a like masterful character. It really seems as if the whole scheme had been elaborated in the brains of a few men two years ago and patiently worked step by step toward a stage where its realization depended only on one political chance—the election of McKinley. The money market has been managed adroitly, the public has been artfully enthused, the international bookkeeping has been nicely managed and every passing condition has been availed of to gain the one great end—harmony."

In the midst of such movements as this the organization of an International Wire Trust, which took place during the past months and which one year ago would have occupied columns in the daily press, is scarcely noticed. There have been rumors of all kinds afloat concerning the further and complete consolidation of the steel and iron interests. It is reported that Carnegie and Rockefeller are about to lock horns in a titanic combat for mastery and some idea of the size of the contending parties is furnished by the statement that the former is reported to be prepared to invest \$300,000,000 in such a combat, while the Rockefeller strength is said to exceed a full billion of dollars. Some conception of the prizes won by the successful ones in these struggles may be gained from the fact that it has been estimated that twenty-three men added almost \$300,000,000 to their combined fortunes during the year just passed.

With such industrial organizations the invasion of foreign markets goes on at a rapid rate and simultaneous complaints of deadly American competition come simultaneously from Switzerland, Austria, Germany and England, where native industries are being crushed out. So it comes about that while the financial journals of America are rejoicing over the fact that American exports for 1900 for the first time in the history of the country were greater than those of any other nation and that New York bank exchanges have repeatedly broken all previous records, the London and Berlin commercial papers are predicting an early and severe crisis for their respective countries.

Prices and wages have remained fairly stationary save that the approach of winter increases the amount of unemployment and the cost of living and hence the amount of suffering among the laboring population. An interesting item in this connection is seen in the recent statement from the national mint that it was unable to supply the

demand for pennies. The student of social conditions sees in this one of the well-recognized signs of increased economy among the producing classes. In every country the closer exploitation of the laborers has been marked by an increased use of coins of the smallest denomination and the present situation in the United States offers a striking contrast with the time remembered by many a frontiersman when the five-cent piece was the smallest coin in circulation, to say nothing of the "flush times" in California when nothing less than a dollar was recognized as constituting a medium of exchange.

The January number of "The World's Work" points out that there has been an extensive shifting in recent years of the commercial interests of the United States toward the South and the far West. The first of these is much the more important at present, although the rise of the Oriental trade may later bring the Pacific coast into the foremost place. The cotton-crop of 1900, although not as large as some of those in former years, brought the hitherto unheard of price of \$500,000,000. This was owing to the fact that the demand in the southern cotton mills was sufficient to fix the price against the foreign and New England buyer. The owners of the inhumanly exploited wage slaves of Alabama and Georgia were able to go into the market and raise the price from five and six cents last year to seven and eight this.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT.

From the foundation of the International Socialist Review up to the present time it has been the policy of those having it in charge to continuously improve its character. To this purpose every cent that has been received in excess of actual expenses has been expended in bettering the publication. This policy will be maintained in the future, and we are able to announce that with the March number several decided steps in advance will be taken. In the first place the size of the Review will be enlarged from 64 to 80 pages, which will give room for the realization of new plans of work.

Ever since the Review has been established we have been in receipt of letters and verbal suggestions from our readers urging us to follow the example of the French and German Socialist publications and run a serial story along with the more purely educational articles that make up the bulk of the magazine. We have hesitated to do this heretofore because of the impossibility of securing anything at all satisfactory in the line of fiction. It has been a fact that a majority of the fiction written upon the social question has been either very poor socialism or very poor fiction, or more often still very poor in both lines. But we have now been fortunate enough to secure a story that is written in an excellent literary style, with a strong plot and full of intense interest, yet which is at the same time written from a socialist point of view. This is "The Charity Girl," by Miss Caroline H. Pemberton, the first chapter of which will appear in the March number of the International Socialist Review. With true literary art the author seeks first of all to write a story and only because she is a socialist and sees things from that point of view is there any socialism in the book. The characters do not preach long sermons, deliver speeches or write articles for the sake of exposing the evils of the present system, but because they are true to life those evils are exposed. The farce of philanthropy is shown with a master hand—the horrors of the hospital camps of the late war, with their embalmed beef and official neglect, are made the background of one intensely thrilling chapter, and taken all in all the story is one that is certain to create a widespread interest outside as well as within socialist circles.

With the **March** number also we expect to have secured another addition to our editorial staff in the person of Prof. E. Untermann, who will take charge of the "Foreign Department." Prof. Untermann is an old German socialist—a graduate of Berlin university where his advanced work in philology made him an accomplished linguist and translator, thus peculiarly fitting him for the work he will do in connection with the Review. This will mean that from now on no other publication in the world will compare with the foreign department of the International Socialist Review as a continuous summary of the happenings in the world of socialism.

"Mother Jones," so well known for her work among the miners, will begin a series of articles in the next number relating her experiences in the labor movement. The first of these will be on the cotton factories of the South, where she worked as a laborer for some time, and others will be on the Pennsylvania and West Virginia miners.

Along with these specific improvements will go many minor betterments that will make of the Review before long the foremost publication of the socialist movement. This is as it should be—for America is destined to be the foremost socialist nation, and its literature should be in keeping. Before long we hope to be able to hire expert investigators and reporters who shall make special studies of industrial centers and social movements and in general work up for the use of socialists the raw material that exists in this country to a greater extent than anywhere else on earth. America is the richest unworked mine of socialist arguments and facts the world has ever known, and we wish to be able to develop some of its veins for the benefit of our readers as soon as possible.

But all these things depend upon a continuous and rapid increase in circulation, and this in turn depends to a large extent upon the efforts of our readers. Up to the present time our increase in circulation has been very satisfactory or else we could not have accomplished the results already obtained. But a careful examination of our present subscription list, and a calculation based upon the answers to advertising and circulars sent out, has made it certain that there are fully 100,000 persons in this country who would become subscribers to the International Socialist Review. if the same were properly brought to their attention. It is needless to tell our readers what this would mean to the cause of socialism.

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You probably know ten people that would want the Review if they saw it. Perhaps they are already socialists of the kind that have only read "Merrie England" and similar books, but who have the brain power to assimilate something more solid. Perhaps they are people who voted for Bryan in the vain hope of stopping the progress of capitalism, and are now beginning to do some serious thinking.

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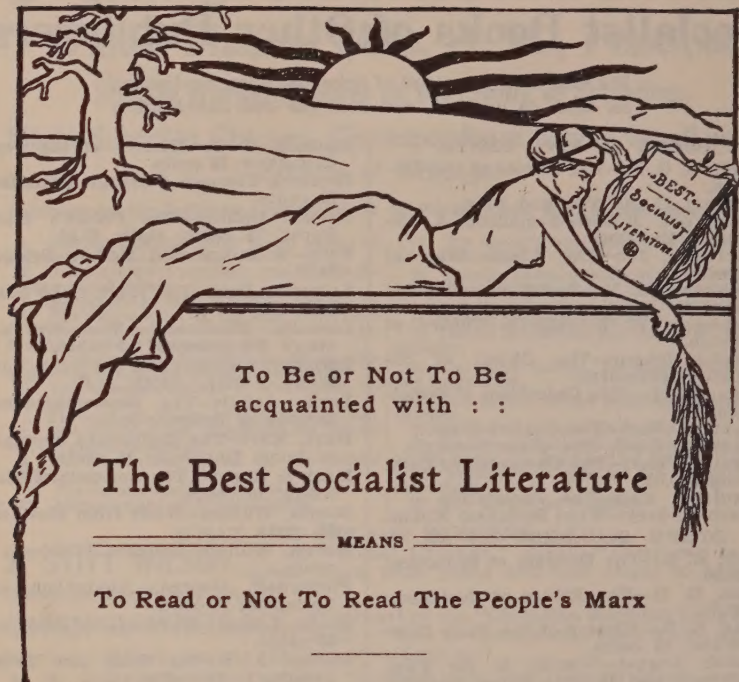
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